

**JPRS 82508**

**21 December 1982**

# **West Europe Report**

**No. 2076**



**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

21 December 1982

# WEST EUROPE REPORT

No. 2076

## CONTENTS

### THEATER FORCES

#### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Socialists From Small NATO Countries Meet on Nuclear Arms ( ANP NEWS BULLETIN, 8 Nov 82) .....	1
---	---

### ENERGY ECONOMICS

#### GREECE

Briefs New Lignite Reserves	3
--------------------------------	---

### ECONOMIC

#### CYPRUS

Economic Picture Shows Mixed Results (CYPRUS WEEKLY, 19-25 Nov 82) .....	4
---	---

#### FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Lambsdorff Expects Improvement in Economy (Otto Graf Lambsdorff; WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE, 22 Oct 82) .....	5
--	---

#### GREECE

Briefs Aircraft Maintenance for Egypt	9
--	---



## POLITICAL

### BELGIUM

- Wallonia, Flanders Establish Relations With Quebec  
(Jacques van Hoorebeke; LE SOIR, 3 Nov 82) ..... 10

### CYPRUS

- Pasok Youth Secretary's Comments on Minimum Program  
(O AGON, 2 Dec 82) ..... 13

### DENMARK/GREENLAND

- Siumut Party Congress Urges End to Danish in Parliament  
(GRONLANDSPOSTEN, 29 Sep 82) ..... 15

### FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

- Greens Show Trend Toward More Pragmatic Policy  
(DER SPIEGEL, 22 Nov 82) ..... 19

New Leadership  
Hoplitschek Interviewed, by Ernst Hoplitschek Interview

### FINLAND

- Confusion Over 'Arafat Visit, UN Vote Reflects Power Struggle  
(Doe; NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 3-4 Oct 82) ..... 23

### FRANCE

- PCF's Gremetz on PLO, Disarmament, Third World, Economy  
(Maxime Gremetz; L'HUMANITE, 6 Oct 82) ..... 26

### GREECE

- Forthcoming Ministerial Dismissals, Appointments Predicted  
(I VRADYNI, 29 Nov 82) ..... 42

- Blandness, Politics Within KKE 'Positions' Analyzed  
(Sp. Drepanos; ANDI, 26 Nov 82) ..... 44

### ICELAND

- Hermannsson Addresses Angry Progressive Party Congress  
(MORGUNBLADID, various dates) ..... 48

Hermannsson Defends Coalition Role  
Party Policies Attacked by Members  
Party Newspaper in Financial Difficulty  
Foreign Minister Johannesson Defends Stands  
Paper Comments on Congress, Editorial



## MILITARY

### FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Woerner's Handling of Bundeswehr Financial Crisis Criticized  
(Wolfgang Hoffmann; DIE ZEIT, 19 Nov 82) ..... 54

### FRANCE

New Army Role, Defense Ideas, Said To Make Policy 'Unclear'  
(Editorial, Thankmar von Muenchhausen; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE,  
1 Dec 82) ..... 57

## GENERAL

### GREECE

Briefs  
Film Cooperation With USSR ..... 60

**SOCIALISTS FROM SMALL NATO COUNTRIES MEET ON NUCLEAR ARMS**

The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 8 Nov 82 pp 1-2

[Text] Amsterdam, November 8--Socialist and social democrat parties from five small northwest European countries agreed here on Saturday to step up joint efforts to halt the east-west nuclear arms race.

A two-day meeting of parties from the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Norway and Denmark disagreed with the nuclear policy pursued by France's ruling socialist party of President Francois Mitterrand.

The five parties, which are all in opposition, agreed to express their alarm at France's imminent decision to start producing the neutron bomb. Conference sources said the decision was expected to come off within three weeks.

The parties said they would voice their alarm to France both jointly and severally.

The meeting here was devoted almost entirely to security questions. The West German socialist SPD party sent Egon Bahr as an observer and the British labour party, Mr. Michael Foot.

The meeting decided to invite observers from French, Italian and Greek socialist parties to future meetings depending on the subjects down for discussion.

**Infrastructure**

The Danish and Norwegian parties here decided to oppose in their national parliaments any contribution to Nato infrastructure facilitating the planned deployment of 572 new nuclear missiles in western Europe.

They agreed to do so for as long as the Netherlands and Belgium have not taken a final decision on whether or not to site cruise missiles on their soil.

The Dutch government has decided to prepare for their deployment but has not yet taken the actual siting decision.

The decision by the five parties to cooperate was prompted by Nato's deploy-and-talk decision of December 1949 and a Soviet offer to open talks on cutting back the medium-range nuclear missiles.

Social democratic parties of the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg opposed the so-called twin decision. They were in the opposition at the time.

But in Denmark and Norway the social democrats were members of coalition governments which signed the twin decision.

France, which quit Nato's military structure under President Charles de Gaulle, had no part in the deploy-and-talk decision. But Giscard d'Estaing and his socialist successor President Mitterrand have both welcomed the decision.

#### Joint Declaration

The Dutch labour party's defence expert Klaas de Vries and Belgium's socialist leader Carel van Miert are to draft a joint security policy declaration before the next meeting of the five parties in Bonn in January.

The declaration is to be adopted at a brief meeting to be held in Copenhagen later.

Speaking to newsmen Mr De Vries indicated the declaration would call for the removal of nuclear combat arms which sharply reduced the nuclear threshold.

It would further call for the return of nuclear arms to the countries controlling them at some later stage making it possible for nuclear free zones to be established in Europe.

The five parties are not optimistic about the outcome of the east-west nuclear disarmament talks in Geneva which have been underway now for nearly a year, Mr De Vries said.

CSO: 3500/9



## BRIEFS

NEW LIGNITE RESERVES--Funds for research programmes to locate and exploit mineral resources have increased by 53% this year reaching 112 million drs, and in the last year 220 million tons of new lignite reserves have been located. These figures were announced yesterday by the Institute of Geological and Mineral Reserach (IGME) answering a declaration by New Democracy Party Deputy and former Minister Miltiadis Evert that "no new lignite reserves have been added during the past year". The IGME also declared that lignite reserves in Greece have reached 4,400 million tons and that research programmes continue in 28 localities. [Text] [Athens ATHENS NEWS in English 21-22 Nov 82 p 7]

CSO: 3500/312

## ECONOMIC PICTURE SHOWS MIXED RESULTS

Nicosia CYPRUS WEEKLY in English 19-25 Nov 82 p 10

[Text]

The island's foreign trade situation deteriorated further during the third quarter of this year, but invisible receipts rose to a new high, thereby causing the current account deficit to shrink further.

This is stated in the latest Popular Bank Newsletter giving the economic developments during the January-August period and analysing the foreign trade and balance of payments situations.

The report, now accepted as an authoritative and objective study on economic matters, says the reason for the deteriorating foreign trade situation was a "marked sluggishness" in export growth, in contrast to an accelerated rise in imports.

As a result, the trade deficit for the first eight months of the year soared to £204 m., a 25.2% increase over the same period last year.

Imports climbed by 16.5% to £373 m., with consumer goods registering the fastest growth.

"With demand for private cars remaining strong, imports of transport equipment continued to accumulate at a fast rate. During the eight-month period, such imports increased by one-third over a year earlier and approximated £31.5 m. or 8.5% of total imports".

According to provisional projections by the Popular Bank, the total value of imports for the whole of 1982 is forecast to reach £365 m., a 15.5% increase over 1981.

Domestic exports were markedly lower than their corresponding level a year earlier. Such a drop in the value of exports has not been experienced in the last five or six years. Their value for the January-August period stood at £137.5 m.

On the other hand, re-exports rose significantly to £31.5 m thus pushing total exports to £169 m. (up 7.5%). Food and beverages recorded a small increase of 3% despite a rather satisfactory performance in potato exports.

Consumer good exports hardly totalled £46 m., 8% down. "The marked decline in exports to Libya and increasingly acute competition in the international markets for such goods, are mainly responsible for such an unfavourable development".

### Gloomy

The Popular Bank report remarks "Taking into consideration the gloomy picture portrayed by the relevant indicators prepared by the Bank, the value of total exports for the whole of 1982 is not forecast to expand by more than 7.5% over that of 1981 (£234.8 m.).

Imports from EEC countries accounted for 48% of the total while those from the Arab world represented 14% of the total. Exports to the EEC improved their relative position by two percentage points to 38% at the expense of exports to the Arab countries which represented only 46% of total exports.

The Newsletter says that

despite the worsening deficit on merchandise transactions during July and August, the net invisible earnings during this period rose to a new high, thereby causing the current account deficit to shrink further.

Net invisibles during the first eight months soared to £146 m. (up 28.5%). Almost the entire increase was achieved through higher earnings from tourism which shot up by 46% to £98.5 m.

Tourist arrivals for the whole of 1982 are expected to reach 560,000, with earnings from tourism amounting to about £144 m.

The current account deficit stood at £36.5 m., showing a slight increase; but capital inflows went up from £28.5 m., to £53 m. leaving an overall balance of payments surplus of £17.5 m. compared with a deficit of £4.6 m. a year earlier.

The island's foreign exchange reserves rose from £176.8 m. at the end of August 1981 to £267 m.

## LAMBSDORFF EXPECTS IMPROVEMENT IN ECONOMY

Duesseldorf WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE in German 22 Oct 82 pp 18-20

[Interview with Otto Graf Lambsdorff, minister for economics: "Miracles Take Longer"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Minister for Economics Otto Graf Lambsdorff hopes that the FRG will overcome the recession during the course of the next year and that it will see its first real economic growth in 1984. During an interview with the WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE he explains how the economic change is to be accomplished.

[Question] The Federal Government did not agree with the forecast of the Council of Experts, which expects a 1-percent economic growth for 1983, but it is predicting only zero growth for the next year. Are the rose-colored predictions of the past changing to pessimism?

[Answer] No, it is not pessimism. At one time our predictions reflected the upper limit of the medium range of our expectations. Following recent experiences we came to the conclusion that it is better to move toward the lower limit of the medium range. And even the Council of Experts made allowance for an alternative, according to which the 1983 gross national product might even decline by 1 percent.

[Question] How do you explain the fact that the FRG economy is not able to move out of its slump, although predictions have been made again and again about the next recovery?

[Answer] The reasons are also due to global economic factors--I am saying /also/ [in italics] global economic factors--they can also be traced to our own neglect: an adjustment policy that was applied too late, a consolidation policy that was introduced too late and which did not go far enough. For too long a time we believed that we could again achieve growth to the same degree as we did in the past. It took us too long to realize that we are dealing with the longest and most persistent recession since 1949. For the first time we experienced that an export boom--during the first half-year of 1982--had practically no effect on the domestic economy but simply ran out of steam. All these circumstances are reasons for our concern.



[Question] When will the boom be here? We are entering the new year with a minus.

[Answer] That is quite right. If we want to land near zero next year--not to mention a 1-percent increase--we will need a significant improvement during the course of the year.

[Question] There is going to be real growth in 1984 compared to 1983?

[Answer] If the development during the course of 1983 shows the expected improvement, we can be quite certain that 1984 will be concluded on the positive side.

[Question] Your predictions for growth are based on the assumption that the decline in interest rates will continue. In view of the shrinking difference between German and U.S. interest rates, were the interest rates in the FRG not supposed to be lowered more dramatically than has been the case?

[Answer] The latitude has increased somewhat for the process of lowering interest rates due to the U.S. monetary policy. I am proceeding from the assumption--financial markets are expecting the same--that the Central Bank Council of the Bundesbank will soon decide on additional relief during one of its upcoming sessions.

[Questions] But how realistic is the assumption of permanent lower interest rates when the state has to tap the capital markets for its budgetary needs to a much larger extent than was expected only a few months ago?

[Answer] In my opinion the capital markets are currently not overextended; they are in a position to absorb what is expected of them by public budgets without a strong influence on the process of lower interest rates--at least acutely. Anyway, the crowding-out effect can only be relevant when private demand leads to this condition. But that is not the case. After all, interest rates in the United States are coming down, last but not least because there is no demand for capital from the private sector, because there are no investments.

[Question] Among the prerequisites is also a slight improvement in the world economy and brisker world trade during the coming year. On what do you base your optimism?

[Answer] The Council of Experts and the Bundesbank have a more positive outlook than we do, or?

[Question] But are conditions actually that way? Everywhere you look--in industrial countries, oil-producing states and developing countries--there are no signs of a development that might improve the German situation.

[Answer] I disagree. There are signs of a positive development, in the United Kingdom, for instance, or in Italy, and the possibilities should not be underestimated. There is no reason to be so pessimistic, even when it comes to the situation in the United States next year. I am confident that we will receive some support from that source.

[Question] Another government prediction will probably also have to be met with scepticism: the assumption that the rate of savings will decline next year. The idea is contrary to all experiences, assuming that people save less in economically difficult times.

[Answer] I would welcome it, and it would certainly be appropriate to encourage people to save less when their real income declines to establish a willingness to maintain consumption. It should actually be part of the logic of development. I believe that the assumptions are accurate; they are cautious, anyway.

[Question] The concept on economic policy presented by the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition has not been accepted without criticism. What about the supply-oriented economic policy? Has it been formulated since the coalition change in a manner that meets your expectations?

[Answer] Elements of a supply-oriented economic policy were already on our minds in past years. Before the change of government I said that there would be only insignificant changes in the area of classical economic policy. Of much greater importance and significance is the fact that we need a noncontradictory policy in all areas of monetary, budgetary, social and economic policy. In the old coalition it became increasingly difficult and in the end it was no longer possible. In my opinion it is very important to pursue a policy that reveals a unified total concept, including its practical application.

[Question] At this point critics are accusing the new government of merely taking a step in the right direction and that many of the accompanying actions represent only patchwork.

[Answer] I am sure it also includes patchwork. Furthermore, it will never happen that the gentlemen who are sitting at their desks writing articles will say that everything is absolutely terrific. We do not want to bore them that much either. And there is nobody who can show a lot of enthusiasm about everything. Do you think that I would raise the flags of victory because we are introducing the investment loan? But it is certainly better than the anti-investment surcharge.

[Question] What is going to follow the first step?

[Answer] What we have to do is to continue and increase our concentrated efforts to decrease structural budget deficits. We will see whether the decisions we have made to date will be adequate. The chancellor was only elected on 1 October. In other words: We accomplished the impossible immediately. Miracles take a little longer.

[Question] But the government's efforts to gain the confidence is very much an essential point....

[Answer] That is quite right.

[Question] ...but where is confidence supposed to come from when the mountain of debts continues to rise and the unemployment figures continue to climb?

[Answer] We are attacking the structural deficits. Nevertheless, we have to make it clear to the citizens that there is nothing else that we can do in 1982 and 1983 other than borrow large amounts, but that we must try everything possible to counteract this development by reducing the deficits during subsequent years. I would like to mention one more time: We do not want to decrease the demand. But I also do not believe that it is possible to solve our problems through an artificially created demand financed by the state.

[Question] Does the necessary confidence not also include the preservation of social peace? You defended Minister for Labor Bluem's proposal for a wage freeze.

[Answer] I am saying: It should be possible to make a suggestion and think about it. I am adding: I would have liked to hear the howling if I had made the suggestion.

[Question] The reactions by labor unions are unmistakable anyway.

[Answer] The social peace is not only endangered because the unions are not on friendly terms with the government. The social peace is not only influenced by the labor unions but also to an extraordinary extent by the people of the country.

[Question] Is it not necessary to engage in a concerted action during economically difficult times?

[Answer] I would welcome that again and again.

[Question] Will you send invitations in the near future?

[Answer] The minister for economics will not write any invitations which will subsequently be rejected by the labor unions.

8991

CSO: 3620/96



ECONOMIC

GREECE

BRIEFS

AIRCRAFT MAINTENANCE FOR EGYPT--Greece and Egypt have signed an agreement which provides for an increased number of Egyptian Hercules C-130 aircraft to be repaired in the Greek maintenance depot situated in Tanagra. This agreement supersedes an already existing arrangement between the Greek aircraft in during and the Egyptian Airforce and is to increase to nine, the number of such aircraft currently in Greece for general repair. [Text]  
[Athens ATHENS NEWS in English 21-22 Nov 82 p 7]

CSO: 3500/313

## WALLONIA, FLANDERS ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH QUEBEC

Brussels LE SOIR in French 3 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by Jacques van Hoorebeke: "The Opening of a Wallonia-Brussels Delegation in Quebec Seems To Worry Mr Leo Tindemans"]

[Text] A "Wallonia-Brussels Delegation" will be opened with some fanfare on 5 November in Quebec. The event will be coupled with the signing of a cultural and economic cooperation agreement between the government of Mr Rene Levesque and the executive body of the French Community. On the same occasion, a "Wallonia-Brussels House" will be inaugurated in Quebec. Endowed with greater autonomy by the laws of August 1980, the communities and regions are now empowered to organize their own relations with foreign countries. As a matter of fact, the Flemish Community has taken the initiative in this area. As far as the Flemish Community is concerned, at least in its luxurious promotional brochures, Belgium no longer exists.

However, the recent emergence of a neo-unitarist counter-current, which expressed itself in rather sharp terms last week through Mr Leo Tindemans in the House, has been noted with interest.

Since the laws of August 1980 were enacted, the agreement to be concluded this week between the French Community of Belgium and the government of Quebec will be an innovation. For the first time the minister of foreign affairs will not be a party to its signing. The last cultural agreement signed by a minister of foreign affairs goes back to 1979. It was a treaty concluded between the Flemish Community and the Netherlands on the "Language Union" (a unification of the Flemish and Dutch languages). Even though it had been drawn up, down to the smallest detail, by the minister of Flemish culture at the time, Mrs De Backer, the treaty was signed by Mr Nothomb who was minister of foreign affairs at that particular time.

## Neo-Unitarist Counter-Current

Today, pursuant to the new laws, the executive bodies of the communities and of the regions may conclude agreements on matters within the scope of their authority. Along these lines, a decision was just made by the executive body

of the Flemish government, presided over by Mr Gaston Geens (CVP [Social Christian Party (Flemish)]). This decision is similar to the one defended by Mr Philippe Moureaux (PS [Socialist Party (Walloon)]), minister-president of the French Community in charge of foreign relations.

There are more than reservations on this point at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During last week's discussion of its budget, Mr Leo Tindemans, minister of foreign relations, specifically considered that they are touching prerogatives which should be his. As far as he is concerned, Article 68 of the constitution still applies: "The power to conclude treaties," he said, "belongs to the king, with the countersignature of the minister of foreign relations." To listen to him you would think that "the regional and community executive bodies are at most consulted, as was the case with the nuclear power station of Chooz, for example." In any federal state, he added, there are three departments which must remain national -- Foreign Affairs, Defense and Finance. To go against this principle would mean the dismantling of the state. We would fall into the jungle. A Canadian minister told me recently in this respect: "We would never tolerate it if you were to come and create difficulties in our country."

However, the minister did admit that the situation is not the same with regard to the authority of the communities and that of the regions. "In any case," he said, "if they don't want war, they will have to complete the state reform. As a matter of fact, there is a working committee within Prime Minister Martens' cabinet." (Editor: this committee has not met since the vacation period.)

#### Flemish Move Ahead

However, the Flemish executive body did not wait for these statement from Mr Tindemans before moving ahead. One will recall in this respect that last May, an important delegation of Flemish industrialists, led by Mr Geens, went to Quebec to establish closer economic and technological cooperation between Flanders and Quebec. A "General Commissioner's Office for International Relations" is its link with the Ministry of International Relations in Quebec. Other initiatives were also taken on the Flemish side. Thus, more than a month ago Mr Hugo Schiltz, minister of finance in the Flemish government, negotiated an agreement with Catalonia. At the end of this month, a delegation from the Flemish executive body will go to California and Texas, and in February another delegation will go to Japan.

#### Agreement

The agreement to be signed by Minister Moureaux and Claude Yvan Morin, vice prime minister of Quebec, covers all cultural matters and matters related to the individual (health, education, training, sports, senior citizens, problems of infancy, etcetera). This new agreement is meant progressively to complete a part of the Belgo-Canadian cultural agreement concluded about 15 years ago. Once signed, this agreement will not have to be submitted for the approval of the House and Senate, but rather for that of the council of the French Community.



## New Market

In view of the opening of the Wallonia-Brussels Delegation in Quebec, a non-profit organization consisting of 18 members -- 9 of which are appointed by the Walloon regional executive body and 9 by the community executive body -- was set up. Hence, there will be two sections, each with its own budget: one for the community, presided over by Mr Herve Hasquin, rector of the ULB [Free University of Brussels], and one for the Walloon region, presided over by Mr Jacques Hoyaux, socialist senator. The executive of the Delegation is a joint one. It is composed as follows: Messrs Jean Mottard (RPW [People's Walloon Rally]), president; Herve Hasquin (PRL [Liberal Reform Party (Walloon)]), vice president; Georges Bary (PS), managing director; Michel De Waele (PSC [Social Christian Party (Walloon)]), secretary; and Andre Lagasse (FDF [Democratic Front of Brussels French Speakers]), treasurer. The two executive bodies will each have an official spokesman to represent them before the Quebec administration, which will grant them diplomatic privileges. In addition, they will have the use of a Wallonia-Brussels House, given by the Quebecers in exchange for the symbolic amount of \$1 per year. It will have an agency in Montreal. The primary purpose for opening this Delegation is "to further the defense and promotion of the interests of the Walloon Region and of the French Community" in Quebec.

Beyond the "Belle province," a whole hinterland -- a market of 80 million consumers -- is opening up.

8463

CSO: 3619/11

**PASOK YOUTH SECRETARY'S COMMENTS ON MINIMUM PROGRAM**

NC021028 Nicosia 0 AGON in Greek 2 Dec 82 pp 1, 10

[Text] Pasok considers that the four options of the Akel-Democratic Party minimum program constitute an attempt to undermine Greek alignment with Cyprus and, at the same time, it believes that the Athens-Nicosia disagreement over the course of the Cyprus issue remains instead of being resolved.

This was emphasized by Stefanos Manikas, first secretary of Pasok's youth committee, who held a press conference in Nicosia yesterday.

Replying to press questions Manikas said that four points in the Akel-Democratic Party minimum program clash with the repositioning of the Cyprus issue and with the Papandreou-Kiprianou agreement reached in Athens during their first meeting.

According to Manikas these four points are the following:

1. The Greek Government considers withdrawal of the Turkish occupation forces as a priority manner while the minimum program speaks of withdrawal of all foreign troops.
2. The Greek Government believes that the intercommunal talks will not provide a viable solution in the form and under the conditions they are being conducted and that they only strengthen a situation, a status quo, which cannot be changed at some certain stage. By contrast the minimum program considers the intercommunal talks as the best process under the circumstances.
3. The Greek Government believes that internationalization means undertaking political and diplomatic action throughout the world in order to promote the Cyprus issue and it does not confine internationalization to only one direction. By contrast the minimum program repeatedly identifies internationalization with the Soviet proposal for an international conference which, although accepted by the Greek Government, is not considered as the only step.
4. The minimum program asks for international guarantees for Cyprus while the Greek Government objects to the efforts to legitimize guarantor powers because this would result in the incorporation of the Cyprus issue into the

differences between the two superpowers and because this would also render the national factor on the island inactive and insignificant.

Manikas, who explained repeatedly that he has no desire to interfere in Cypriot domestic affairs and that he was not speaking on behalf of the Greek Government, stresses that Pasok's youth insists upon the policy of repositioning which is aimed at: one--withdrawal of Turkish troops; two--internationalization and, three--popular reconciliation.

He added that the Cypriot people and their responsible government have the last word in their decisions but he emphasized that "we have the right to express our own views because of the national interest in the Cyprus issue."

The representative of Pasok's youth underlined that at the time when Soviet representatives laud the Akel-Democratic Party minimum program "and we recognize their right to expression, then we argue that we also have the right, as the Metropolis of Hellenism, to express our own views. This is because the Cyprus issue is not just a Cypriot affair--it has an effect on the wider national area."

CSO: 3521/107

## SIUMUT PARTY CONGRESS URGES END TO DANISH IN PARLIAMENT

Godthaab GRØNLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 29 Sep 82 pp 16-17

[Text] Siumut last week held its third party congress since its establishment as an actual party organization 5 years ago. Forty-four delegates from all parts of the country as well as a number of observers participated in the 4-day national congress, where approximately thirty items on the agenda were discussed.

The subjects of the thirty items on the agenda are partly political and partly concern the organization of the party. It is a question of subjects such as wage policy and price policy, fiscal policy, employment policy, the Greenland school and educational system, social policy, the new election law, the party newspaper, and the party's relations with local and international organizations as well as the position of the Greenlandic language in Greenland today.

The representatives of the party in higher assemblies such as the Greenland parliament, the National Association of Municipalities, the Folketing, and the EC Parliament made their reports and were both praised and criticized--but mostly praised--by the national congress.

#### Employment Policy

One party division asked for clearer principles in the party's employment policy. In the debate on this question, it was pointed out that the employment policy must be viewed in conjunction with a decentralized employment plan which the party is preparing. The outcome of the debate was that the following items were added to the objectives of the party:

- (1) In establishing permanent places of work and in continuing the existing ones, the highest priorities must be given to the areas which may provide the highest possible rate of employment.
- (2) Social means from the public sector must, to a steadily increasing degree, be utilized for the creation of new jobs.
- (3) In exploiting the country's living and non-living resources, the creation of the largest possible number of work places is one of the most important goals.



(4) Through decentralized planning in the employment area, the basis must be created for concrete employment policy initiatives.

#### **Educational and Fiscal Policies**

One of the proposals made within the areas of the educational policy and the cultural policy concerned the setting up of a school reform commission. The persons making the proposal from the party's division at Nuuk stated that their motivation for the desire was that the Greenland school system must continuously be in harmony with the Greenland situation. The said party division stated that, in the course of time, many correct things had been said on the subject, but that much of it had come to nothing since there is no forum in which the ideas are gathered and systematized.

The proposal for a school reform commission will now be submitted to the Cultural and Educational Department of the home rule government for further consideration.

Proposals were also made for the introduction of price and profits legislation with a view to a price development in Greenland more under the control of the Greenland society. Two party divisions took up the question of the fiscal policy, wanting to introduce a graduated system of incomes taxation. The party congress, however, decided not to commit itself until the work of the parliamentary committee on these two subjects has taken shape.

#### **Right of Voting for Students in Denmark**

The new election law which will take effect next spring was also discussed at the national congress of Siumut. One party division criticized in strong terms the introduction of the right to vote for base personnel, and one group (part of the work of the national congress took place in groups) criticized the party's parliamentary group for accepting this part of the new election law.

However, the delegates participating in the national congress decided not to do anything about it, at the same time advocating that the right to vote by mail to the Greenland parliament be given to Greenlanders in the process of training and education in Denmark. Here, they had in mind Greenlanders who, under the educational system of the home rule government, are being educated in Denmark.

#### **Language in Greenland Parliament**

Among the subjects coming under what is popularly referred to as Greenlandization, the use of Greenlandic in the Greenland parliament got into the picture. Representatives of the party organization at Nuuk, the party's largest one, proposed a time schedule for transition to Greenlandic as the only negotiating language in the country's highest assembly, which is using both Greenlandic and Danish as negotiating languages. The party division proposed that negotiations take place solely in Greenlandic by September 1984 at the latest.

All participants in the party congress agreed in principle that oral negotiations in the Greenland parliament shall take place solely in Greenlandic. However, in a vote, the majority advocated a broader and more varied formulation of the way of presenting the problem than the one presented by the Nuuk party division. The recommendations of the majority were as follows:

The Siumut party congress advocates that negotiations in the Greenland parliament take place in Greenlandic only. Before that one must ensure that the negotiations can be rendered correctly in Danish, and that the problems associated with simultaneous interpretation are solved. On the other hand, importance is attached to the continued use of both languages when direct radio transmissions take place from the Greenland parliament.

#### Relations With Local and International Organizations

As for the relations of the Siumut party with the big trade union organizations, SIK, the Greenland Confederation of Labor, and KNAPK, the Greenland Confederation of Fishermen/Whalers and Sealers, the national congress supported the desire on the part of the party leadership to form a liaison committee between the party and the two organizations. Endeavors are also being made to establish closer contact with the Inuit organization, ICC. The president of the organization, Hans Pavia Rosing, who is a member of the party, in his report also pointed out the necessity of closer contact.

Jens Lyberth, chairman of SIK, has reacted positively to the idea of a non-binding liaison committee.

The possibility of the affiliation of the Siumut party to the international organization of Social Democratic and socialist-oriented parties, the Labor and Socialist International, was also touched upon at the party congress. The said organization has previously approached Siumut, asking whether it considered becoming a member. The party congress gave the party leaders permission to continue their exploratory talks on the subject.

Anker Jørgensen's Social Democratic Party in Denmark is a member of the Labor and Socialist International. But at the national congress of Siumut, expression was also given to the desire to continue putting emphasis on cooperation with both the Socialist People's Party and the Social Democratic Party in the Folketing.

#### Jonathan Motzfeldt Still Chairman of Siumut

Jonathan Motzfeldt, chairman of the Greenland parliament, was re-elected chairman of Siumut at the national congress of the party held at Nuuk last week. No candidates ran against him. In the same way, Moses Olsen, social affairs member of the Greenland government, remained in his post as deputy chairman.

Ole Heinrich, 25, who is an information officer in the Tusarliivik information department of the home rule government, was also elected unanimously for the post of chief treasurer of the party. He replaces the member for culture and education of the home rule government, Thue Christiansen, who did not wish to be re-elected for the executive committee.

The other members of the executive committee of the party are now: member for employment affairs of the home rule government Lars Emil Johansen (re-elected), Kaj Egede (newly elected), Bendt Frederiksen (newly elected), Birthe Nielsen (re-elected), Emma Nielsen (newly elected), Odak Olsen (re-elected), Tage Frederiksen (newly elected), and Hendrik Nielsen (newly elected).

Members of the previous executive committee who did not wish to be re-elected are, in addition to Thue Christiansen, Mayor Henrik Lund, Storch Lange, and Marianne Petersen. Peter Davidsen from K'agssimiut did not obtain re-election.

The Siumut party congress, incidentally, decided to retain the arrangement of holding party congresses every 2 years, and that there will be one delegate from each party division instead of two as hitherto. Actually, it was proposed to hold party congresses every 3 years and to have two delegates from each municipality--one representing the party division in the town and the other representing the party divisions in the various settlements of the municipality. That proposal was thus partly rejected.

The next party congress of Siumut will thus take place in 1984.

7262

CSO: 3613/18

## GREENS SHOW TREND TOWARD MORE PRAGMATIC POLICY

## New Leadership

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 22 Nov 82 pp 30-32

/Text/ The Eco party seeks a rapprochement with the SPD.

The party congress assembled the Greens, but the topic of discussion was the Social Democrats.

GDR dissident and theoretical economist Rudolf Bahro warned against sacrificing Green identity to "doglike obsession with the SPD." His reward was a Bronx cheer.

Hamburg's Thomas Ebermann, assembly deputy of the Green/Alternative List (GAL), suggested that the 650 delegates should talk with the comrades. "They are a vehicle for political discussion, a means for politicizing the people." Ebermann was applauded.

The to and fro persisted at the Green Congress, held the weekend before last in Hagen. Former chairperson Petra Kelly fears her party might "fall into the arms of Willy Brandt, the wily old charmer." Her successor, Rainer Trampert, leaves no room for doubt: Should the Greens get into the Bundestag at the next election, and should the Union miss the absolute majority, "there will definitely be talks with the SPD."

Unresolved in Hagen was the dilemma of having to approach the SPD because 80 percent of Green voters wish for this, while still clinging to the environmental and peace principles of the Green rank-and-file. Still, in the course of the dispute about the almost neurotic obsession with the SPD, the majorities within the new party stand more clearly revealed.

Not all resistance to "social democratism" and "SPD politicians" has disappeared; indeed all Greens reject a coalition with them. Still, the growing significance of the Greens who may well achieve the role of providing the SPD with a majority, compels them to deal more fully with daily affairs. The maturation of the Alternatives has been speeded up by the experiences of Green deputies who now operate in seven Land assemblies.



Pragmatists and reformists increasingly help define the image of the party; ecological uptians and followers of the fundamental opposition are on the retreat. More and more doubt whether it makes sense to persist in the principles--kept aloft until now--such as basis democracy, the rotation of deputies and limits on daily allowances.

This is clearly expressed in the change at the top. Instead of the fundamental-oppositionist Kelly, nervous of the SPD, Hamburg GAL member Trampert now leads the party. He is an expert tactician, experienced in work with the K /communist/ groups, who values the political feasibility of alternative ideas more highly than rejection and undue insistence on Green principles.

For the first time the Greens are led by a politician who pleads for limited cooperation with the SPD and does not stress the dichotomy of economics and ecology. Instead he seeks to make the two compatible. Until 1979 Kelly's successor, works council member at the oil multinational Texaco, was member of the "Communist Union" (KB) like Ebermann and is now with the undogmatic-socialist KB offshoot "Group Z."

Trampert will be assisted on the executive committee by forester Wilhelm Knabe and college literature lecturer Manon Maren-Griesebach. In contrast to the Green total rejectionists (slogan: "Getting out of everything"), Trampert does not intend to "offer anybody a general abandonment of employment, because I cannot tell him where to go from there." A policy favoring peace and the environment is possible only "if it includes the immediate vital interests of workers."

They have blocked out in an 8-point party congress resolution the conditions in which the Greens would elect Hans-Jochen Vogel chancellor and support a SPD minority government. The Greens consider non-negotiable their core demands--no emplacement of nuclear missiles and chemical weapons in the FRG, the shutting-down of all nuclear plants.

The SPD will have to decide whether it feels able to comply with these conditions. In terms of Helmut Schmidt's policies, the conditions for a red-green alliance in Bonn are just not present. If, however, the text of the Munich SPD Congress resolutions is to be the criterion, collaboration may be possible.

The Social Democrats may find it easier to compromise in negotiations about the remaining six "important tasks" (party congress resolution) of Green Bundestag deputies, such as "immediate measures against the killing of forests," "a stop to the major projects" West runway and Rhine-Main-Danube Canal as well as an "immediate stop to wideband cabling." Trampert considers all this "negotiable" and "amenable to a consensus" in talks with the SPD. On the other hand he is doubtful of Social Democrat readiness to spontaneously approach the Greens. "I do not expect anything from Vogel."

In Hagen Trampert's party was by no means so realistic. The total rejectionists were actually provoked by Ebermann's appeal for moderation in dealing with the SPD and for confinement to "setting ecological accents" and economic reforms within the framework of capitalism."

Rudolf Bahro sketched the attitude of the fundamentalists: True ecologists ought "to break loose from the world market." They should wait around "next to the industrial system" until such times as it breaks down "under the pressure of 5 million unemployed," power more or less automatically devolves on the Alternative--the man has a green vision.

Still, only a few talk like Bahro. His speeches, judged by the FRANKFURTER RUND-SCHAU to be like a "green Sonthofen," were dismissed as "harking back to the Stone Age" and "illusions at the expense of those affected. Nevertheless, as a sign of Green contrariness, the delegates elected him an advisory member of the executive committee. Their reasoning: This prominent party member must be "involved" and "pacified."

More prospect of success at a special party congress in January next beckons for a program drafted by the "Federal Economy AG" of the Green executive committee. In this paper the Alternatives call for the 35-hour week and a "program for investment in the future," for example the development of energy conserving technologies. SPD economic expert Wolfgang Roth claims that "80 percent" (of the draft) "has been cribbed from us."

In the midst of all these friendly gestures, SPD chairman Willy Brandt--the first to have worked out the majority left of the Union--saw himself compelled last week to move slightly off. "We should not get so obsessed with the Greens as they are with us."

#### Hoplitschek Interviewed

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 22 Nov 82 p 31

/Interview with Green party critic Ernst Hoplitschek/

/Text/ SPIEGEL: Herr Hoplitschek, you were a member of the Greens' federal executive committee for 1 year. Now you call for a new type of functionary and deputy in your party. Why?

Hoplitschek: The Greens are steadily moving toward the center of power. At this point it is imperative to call for people who are well versed. Opinions and emotions are no longer enough.

SPIEGEL: Do the Greens lack competence?

Hoplitschek: At the moment mediocrity is prevalent rather than competence. We are joined by people who have a deficit in their social situation, who are students, in training, unemployed. They will run themselves ragged for DM1,800. That leads to a leveling down. A competent scientist certainly would not work himself to a frazzle for that kind of money, nor risk established ties.

SPIEGEL: Is it not nonsense, therefore, to limit daily expense allowances and exchange deputies after half a legislative term?

Hoplitschek: I am one of those who used to passionately advocate just that, in order to avoid that careerists might misuse the new wave to swim to the top. By now, though, I think that these elements are failing in view of a more and more unrealistic basis.

SPIEGEL: A large majority of your party think otherwise.

Hoplitschek: I know many Greens who whisper to me behind their hands that they have cultural needs, not only like to visit the theater and listen to classical music but also wish to eat well and cannot understand that they are supposed to eat nothing but bread and drippings from now on.

SPIEGEL: Is that something not to be spoken aloud among Greens?

Hoplitschek: Unfortunately not. There is a kind of institutionalized modesty required of everybody, a kind of ethically founded asceticism, somewhat like Robespierre's who lived with a carpenter's family in 1793 and did himself of all passions. For me that is a problem.

SPIEGEL: If the Greens should soon get into the Bundestag, are the deputies to be allowed to keep their daily allowances?

Hoplitschek: They should give up some of their money. However, nobody can possibly carry on politics in Bonn on not quite DM200. That is sheer nonsense.

SPIEGEL: You say that basic democracy is a "chimera." Up to now your party boasted of being a basic democracy. Is that no longer true?

Hoplitschek: Genuine basic democracy can work only if the rank-and-file has confidence in its own representatives. In our case that has some odd consequences. In our party the rank-and-file may feel entitled to complete know-nothingness. Officials who have diverged from the consensus are compelled to submit to the potshots of these gray mice prototypes. The guillotine is always ready.

SPIEGEL: The abandonment of the rotation principle, poorly interpreted basic democracy and the limitation of daily allowances--is not this a break with the principles of the Greens?

Hoplitschek: I believe that the Greens have arrived at a point where their very survival is at stake. Vogel is sensitive to the ecology and could take votes from us when running as SPD chancellor candidate. If, in this situation, we are unable to decide whether to enter into a discriminating alliance with the SPD--without hieluding our identity--, or whether to remain fundamentally in opposition, we will run into trouble not only with our members but with the voters also.

11698  
CSO: 3620/113

## CONFUSION OVER ARAFAT VISIT, UN VOTE REFLECTS POWER STRUGGLE

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 3-4 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Doe.: "Debate on Neutrality and Availability--Who Leads Finland's Foreign Policy?--Dispute Regarding Arafat's Invitation to Helsinki"]

[Text] Stockholm, 30 September--A rather heated debate, which is new for Finland, addresses the issue of who can and should invite PLO leader Arafat to Helsinki under what authority, and whether it was right that the Finnish UN delegation voted in favor of condemning Israel in August for its involvement in the war in Lebanon--the only Scandinavian delegation to vote in favor of this issue. Both issues involve the basis of Finland's policy of neutrality and the humanitarian involvement derived therefrom. Actually, this debate, however, is about who, aside from the president with his constitutional prerogatives, should be the leader in foreign policy affairs and make individual decisions: Foreign Minister Stenbaeck, or Prime Minister Sorsa, or possibly even Chairman of Parliament Virolainen. The disagreement carries a trace of campaigning and a certain stage fright with it, particularly since a discussion of this kind was totally inconceivable under Kekkonen's presidency, which lasted for 25 years. Koivisto himself encouraged this debate at the inception of his term, but has now addressed the issue in a more conciliatory analysis of the situation.

## Tug of War between Foreign Minister and Prime Minister

Arafat's visit, which is not at all firm at this time, has resulted in a tug of war between Foreign Minister Stenbaeck and Prime Minister Sorsa. Stenbaeck feels that he was circumvented because Sorsa informed him last week that, in agreement with President Koivisto, he had requested the Chairman of Parliament Virolainen by telephone to sound out the PLO regarding an invitation to Arafat to come to Helsinki. At the time, Virolainen was in Rome where he was elected president of the Interparliamentary Union (IPU) and cultivating contacts with the PLO representative to Italy. The government cannot possibly extend an invitation to Arafat, because Finland, like Switzerland, does not recognize organizations, only nations. While it is true that Stenbaeck had opened up the debate on the Arafat visit rather unskillfully, he then wanted the issue to be treated discretely, because a long discussion of the topic, he said, could have created the wrong



impression that in spite of all assurances by the president, Finland's foreign policy was undergoing changes. Although Prime Minister Sorsa is fairly frank with his criticism of the United States and Israel, Helsinki strictly denies that even slight shifts in foreign policy are in the offing.

The Stalinist minority communists, who are coalition partners in the government through the faction of the people's socialists, are the only ones demanding a change in the doctrine permitting recognition of the PLO. In its Near East policy, however, the government showed for the first time a viewpoint different from that of the remaining Nordic countries, which did not condemn Israel in the United Nations, but rather abstained. According to the official interpretation, this attitude is a consequence of Finland's active humanitarian role, which prevented it from ignoring Israel's "offensive war" any longer. According to a recent comprehensive interview by President Koivisto, Helsinki's basic position with regard to the Near East has not changed. Arafat's visit, however, was not yet an issue at the time of the interview. Max Jakobson, the experienced diplomat and UN specialist, on the other hand, had criticized the vote as a "blunder." Arguing on the classical basis of neutrality and [humanitarian] involvement, Jakobson concludes that the Finnish attitude must create trust by being straight forward, in turn lending credibility to the unbiased matter-of-factness. He trusts that this is the government's position as well, and he quotes Kekkonen, who in one of his books warns against "moralizing attitudes, comments and gestures made solely for their own sake."

Jakobson was severely criticized by Apunen, a social democrat, political scientist and columnist, and an independent thinker and writer. He reproached him for being "ultrarealistic" and demands that Finland's foreign policy become more active, which in practice would mean a further rapprochement to the nonaligned countries. In this connection, however, LALLI, a small newspaper which is frequently quoted in the capital, restates the importance of small independent countries as constant factors in [humanitarian] involvement. It states that in this position the fact should never be forgotten that very limited possibilities are available to the country. It further states that this applies to Finland's entire foreign policy and specifically its actions in the United Nations.

#### Matter of Prestige Between Sorsa and Stenbaeck

All parties, except the opposing Conservative party and the small Christian Party, are in favor of Arafat's visit. Within 1 week the debate resulted in an unexpectedly violent dispute between Sorsa and Stenbaeck, who had not gotten into each other's way up to that time. The two conducted their disagreements in the media, which, in part, may be explained by the fact that they were unable to discuss the matter in Helsinki. Sorsa is currently visiting Kreisky in Vienna, his master in foreign politics, and Stenbaeck is still in New York at the UN General Assembly. The two politicians have relatively little experience in foreign politics and apparently wish to gain popularity and importance in this area in view of the upcoming campaign, since Virolainen has threatened to take the initiative on the Arafat issue.

Since the internal party dispute prior to the election of the president, the president of the Reichstag, the "old man of the Center Party," has lost in gambling in internal politics, at least for the time being. He apparently hopes, as a newspaper close to him states, to gain influence in foreign politics as the president of the IPU and to improve Finland's image abroad. However, the Reichstag elections probably are a factor in Virolainen's calculations. In 1979, his results were not so brilliant as to allow him not having to strengthen his position within the party once again. There is only one question regarding Virolainen's activity in this connection: since when is the chairman of parliament involved in foreign affairs?

In a news agency interview early this week--which he refuted today, alleging false quotations--Stenbaeck described the decision process in Finnish foreign politics as absurd. He stated that instead of the foreign minister, Prime Minister Sorsa was pulling the strings. The latter, responding curtly, said today that he was no longer willing to continue the discussion with his foreign minister in public and that he wanted to wait for the latter's return from New York. HELSINGIN SANOMAT is already asking the question whether consequences within the government are imminent. It is known of Sorsa that he believes he is "forced" to play a larger role in foreign policy, not so much in the position of the prime minister as the head of the Social Democratic Party and member of the Socialist International Board, where he, understandably so, wishes to stand out next to Palme, Kreisky and Brandt. For the time being, it remains speculation whether he wishes to push Stenbaeck's small Liberal Swedish People's Party out of the coalition after the election, aiming at a much discussed cooperation with the conservatives.

9544

CSO: 3620/17

PCF'S GREMETZ ON PLO, DISARMAMENT, THIRD WORLD, ECONOMY

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 6 Oct 82 pp 8-9

[Report by Maxime Gremetz to PCF Central Committee]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

Our 24th Congress has completed an overall examination of the international situation. It is therefore not my intention to repeat that analysis here, an analysis confirmed by life.

However, the period we have just come through was marked by a series of important events that merit reflection. We have lessons to derive from them.

That is why the Politburo has asked me to take up certain aspects of the international situation and to outline the tasks deriving from it for our party.

Aggression in Lebanon

The past four months have been marked by the events in the Near East, with the aggression against Lebanon.

I wish to immediately emphasize that this aggression must be seen within the context of the determination of American imperialism to strengthen its hold over a region that is strategic in its eyes, both economically and militarily.

Washington granted its complete military, economic, political and diplomatic support to Israel on this occasion, for Israel has long served as its regional watchdog.

At the same time, American officials have strengthened their relations with the reactionary Arab countries, trying to establish a "strategic consensus" of the countries in the region, a consensus aimed at the liberation movement and socialist countries.

The main obstacles to the implementation of this strategy were the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Lebanese National Movement.

The objective assigned to Tel Aviv was therefore clear: to liquidate the liberation movement of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, both militarily and politically, and to set up a "friendly" government in Beirut.

These objectives are joined by the personal territorial ambitions of Begin, who wants to maintain direct, permanent control over southern Lebanon.

Finally, by breaking the PLO, Begin hoped to be able to impose "autonomy" on the inhabitants of Trans-Jordan and Gaza more easily.

It was for these reasons that the American Government gave the green light to the Peace in Galilee operation.

Of these four months of conflict, two facts should be emphasized: first of all, the heroic resistance of the Palestinian and Lebanese soldiers who, alone in the face of the most powerful army in the Near East, gave a great lesson in courage to the world.

Next, the horrors of this war provoked by Begin and Sharon: The savage bombing of Beirut and the siege of the city, the massacre of hundreds of Palestinian refugees, men and women, old people and children, in the Sabra and Shatila camps, fired the universal conscience.

What is the situation today?

What initial conclusions can be drawn from these long months of aggression?

The PLO, the soldiers, have been able to leave Beirut with honor and dignity. Leadership of the Palestinian resistance has been safeguarded, the political prestige of the PLO has increased and Yasser Arafat has confirmed his stature as a statesman, as the meeting with the Pope shows. The great demonstrations of recent days in Trans-Jordan and Gaza have confirmed the support of the people for the PLO. This is extremely important. In addition, the Israeli troops are getting bogged down in Lebanon in the longest conflict the Israeli state has known since its creation.

In Israel, the movement for peace in Lebanon, whose courage and foresight must be hailed and which represents the real interests of the Israeli people, has grown substantially stronger.

The consensus has been broken, despite the support which the Labor Party has given to government action for long weeks. This is an indication of considerable progress.

One must also note the questions and doubts born in international public opinion, previously unconditionally behind Israeli policy.

That is true in our country, but in the United States as well.



## Setback

But that must not hide the reality of the situation, a setback that progressive and national liberation forces have just suffered in the region. It concerns all of us.

What are the elements of the setback?

By leaving Beirut, by being scattered, the PLO has lost an important advantage. Part of its political-administrative apparatus has been dismantled. Israel affirms its control over Lebanon and plans the division of the country. The Lebanese National Movement has suffered a heavy blow. The United States, despite its active complicity in Israel, has strengthened its hold on the region.

In a region with such economic and political importance, this setback is not without consequences in other parts of the world and may constitute encouragement to the aggressiveness of imperialism.

Nevertheless, one must note the contradictory aspects and fragile nature of the advances made by the United States and Israel in the region.

On the heels of the Beirut massacres, the isolation of the Israeli Government has increased, as shown by the participation of 400,000 persons in the Tel Aviv demonstration on 25 September. The internal crisis has sharpened, the United States has seen its responsibility questioned and opposition to the occupation has grown stronger in Lebanon.

This setback which we have suffered has its roots, as we have said, in inadequate political determination to face the aggression.

The international response was not up to the requirements of the situation.

It is our conviction that more active solidarity on the part of all forces concerned with the legitimate rights of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples could have brought about the failure of the aggressors from the very beginning.

The paralysis of the United Nations had tragic consequences.

If the United Nations had sent forces to intervene in Beirut, the United States could not have imposed their premature withdrawal, as they did with the multinational force. And the Sabra and Chatila massacres would probably not have taken place.

## Lebanese Crisis

Today, the situation in the region and in Lebanon remains particularly complex.

Confronted with the urgent need for action and in the face of the risk of more massacres, we have emphasized the positive nature of the immediate

presence, within the framework of a multinational force, of a French contingent in Beirut.

The mandate of these troops is both clear and limited in scope: It is a question of safeguarding the Lebanese and Palestinian civilian populations.

We believe that the force also has a special responsibility vis-a-vis the political parties of the left and the safeguarding of its members.

But to solve the problems of Lebanon, we must move as quickly as possible toward the application of the resolutions of the UN Security Council, which provide in particular for the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon.

It is indispensable for the restoration of the Lebanese Government's authority over the entire country, as well as for the continuation of the democratic nature of Lebanon and the achievement of national understanding.

The reestablishment of the unity, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon requires vigorous action on the part of the United Nations.

First of all, an international force under its authority and responsible for applying the resolutions of the Security Council must be set up and sent.

Second, the sanctions provided by the UN Charter concerning any state violating the resolutions of the international organization must be applied.

Considering the scope of the destruction in Lebanon, our country must join with the international community in rebuilding that country.

#### National Rights of Palestinian People

Beyond the problem of Lebanon, it is the problem of the restoration of a just and lasting peace in the Near East, the achievement of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, that is posed.

On several occasions, we have recalled the main lines of a settlement, in keeping with the UN resolutions: Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem; recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to their own independent state; and international guarantees for peace and security of all states in the region, including the state of Palestine and that of Israel.

We are convinced that France can play an important role in this context, one in keeping with its responsibilities and the expectations of the peoples in the region. We are working and shall continue to work in that direction.

The substance of the plan of settlement adopted in Fes by all Arab countries, one following the main lines of the UN resolutions, opens a path toward peace.

The opportunity must be seized! In international organizations and in its bilateral relations, France can help initiate negotiations between all parties concerned, including the PLO, immediately, in order to carry out the provisions of this peace plan.

This is all the more necessary when one sees the obstacles being raised by Israel and the United States, including the recent declaration made by Schultz, who, concerning a homeland for the Palestinians, spoke of a "place where you can say: This is my country, even if you do not live there!" What a plan!

Our party has taken its rightful place in the broad solidarity movement that has developed since 6 June.

We believe we have done everything within our power to expand the protest. We have backed the broadest initiatives.

I shall not list here all the demonstrations held, the last and most important of which was the great Paris demonstration against the Sabra and Chatila massacres.

The two meetings of Georges Marchais with the president of the republic have also had a great impact.

The intervention of great masses of our people on this matter encouraged the action of the French Government, particularly in order to save West Beirut and the Palestinian soldiers. It helped our country to play an active role in the conflict.

During the next period also, solidarity with the peoples of the Near East will be an essential basis of our international activity:

Solidarity with the Palestinian people and the PLO, their only legitimate representative.

Solidarity with the Lebanese people, the Lebanese National Movement and the Lebanese Communist Party.

Solidarity with all the forces of peace in Israel, particularly with the Communist Party of Israel.

We are ready to take all kinds of national and international action to broaden that solidarity.

At the request of the Lebanese National Movement, we are ready to contribute to the success of an international conference of solidarity with the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

This is also the meaning of the invitation which Georges Marchais sent to Yasser Arafat to come to Paris, as well as of the messages sent to Georges Haoui, secretary general of the Lebanese Communist Party, Walid Joumblatt, president of the Lebanese National Movement, and Meir Vilner, secretary general of the Communist Party of Israel.

The international response must be on a par with the requirements and possibilities: That is the lesson we shall derive from the setback which the forces of progress, liberation and peace have just suffered.

This is all the more necessary because the aggressiveness of American imperialism is not only seen in the Near East.

#### Aggressiveness of American Imperialism

It is developing in various forms throughout the rest of the world, particularly where peoples are fighting bitterly for their national and social liberation.

This is true in Central America, where the Reagan administration is doubling its hostility against socialist Cuba and openly uses Honduras as a base of aggression against the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua, against the courageous struggle of the Salvadoran and Guatemalan patriots.

It is true in southern Africa, where it openly supports South Africa, which is stepping up its aggression against Angola and Mozambique and by every possible means, scorning the decisions of the United Nations, opposes Namibia's accession to independence.

It is true in North Africa, where the United States has made Morocco a central pawn in its strategic apparatus in the region, setting up military bases not only aimed at the Saharan people, but at all peoples in that area.

It is true in Southeast Asia, where there is an intensification of maneuvers such as those revolving around a Cambodian pseudo coalition government, a government that is actually only a front for the Khmers Rouges of Pol Pot, who claims to represent Cambodia in the United Nations. If this were the case, the United Nations and the United States, which is involved in the operation, would not thus be greater.

In this region, the United States is also continuing to give its support to the South Korean dictatorship.

Likewise, in Europe, they maintain privileged relations with the fascist regime of Turkish General Evren, whom they helped put in office.

#### Strengthening of Policy of Confrontation

This brief look, which is confined to a few situations, emphasizes that it is definitely a strengthening of the aggressive policy, the source of tension, which the United States is after in all domains.

Militarily, they promote a frantic arms race, to which I shall return.

In the developing countries, the Reagan administration wants, through blackmail achieved by credits and financial pressures, to impose policies of austerity on nations and influence the orientation of their national and international policy.



With the same objective, the United States is trying to use contradictions, differences and the diversity of countries in the movement of nonaligned nations to make it deviate from its anti-imperialist orientation and create divisions.

It wants to make its law prevail in regional and international institutions and organizations and paralyze them when it is not successful.

It deliberately sharpens conflicts and heightens all kinds of tensions.

With the Reagan administration, a new dimension is given to this policy: that of a strengthening in the policy of confrontation.

Moreover, this was confirmed by the recent declaration of Vice President George Bush, who said a few days ago that: "We have heard many protests from our European allies. I am sorry, but the United States is the leader of the Free World and under this government (of President Reagan), we shall once again begin to act like it." The arrogance, brutality and cynicism could not be clearer!

Such a policy is fraught with danger to peace, the security of nations and peoples and international cooperation.

We do not underestimate its perils.

On the contrary, we see the most suitable means to improve the effectiveness of action opposing it.

#### Causes of Policy

In order to do so, it is indispensable to analyze the basic causes of this policy of confrontation followed by the American Administration.

At our latest congresses, we analyzed in detail the causes and meaning of the counteroffensive developed by imperialism, mainly American imperialism, in the past several years. It adapts, as we have said, to the new conditions of the class struggle on a world scale.

The historic defeat which imperialism suffered in Vietnam, the progress made by the forces of liberation along the path of renewal, and the successes achieved by peoples in their struggles have resulted in a reduction in its sphere of domination.

In this situation, it seeks to reconquer its supremacy in all fields, including the military, so as to try to check the development of the vast liberating movement of peoples, to deal it mortal blows.

It seeks to regain the lost ground and if possible, to extend its influence and reaffirm its domination. But this is not without difficulty, especially since it is confronted with a worsening crisis in its own system.

The worsening unemployment, policies of austerity and inflation are today the real image of that crisis.

In the United States itself, Reagan is confronted with the highest unemployment in 41 years: nearly 11 million. In that country, 14 percent of the population, over 31 million persons, live under the poverty level. The so-called champion of freedom and human rights has egg on his face.

In the Europe of the Ten, there are 10.8 million unemployed, with an increase of 20.1 percent a year.

Great Britain thus moves toward 3.5 million unemployed and the FRG has 41 percent more unemployed than it had a year ago.

The newspaper LES ECHOS recently noted that "Japan's activity is inert."

#### New Contradictions

This deterioration in the situation of workers gives rise to major social and political struggles in Europe, but in the United States as well.

Strikes are developing in nearly all branches in Great Britain and the FRG. The same is true in the United States, where action against overarming and the policy of intervention in Central America now joins union action in certain sectors.

In developing countries, the pressures and intervention of the Reagan administration often heighten the hostility of peoples.

Major social struggles are developing as class distinctions grow.

Certain governments are led to assert with new or greater vigor their will for independence, emancipation, for original national development.

In Latin America, the political and social consequences of the war in the Malvinas deserve to be examined:

In Argentina, naturally, where the fight for a democratization of social and political life is growing in intensify. On 3 September, a demonstration of 40,000 persons responded to the appeal of the Argentine Communist Party.

Likewise, pressure from the people is now leading the governments of Colombia and Venezuela to look to their membership in the Movement of Nonaligned Nations.

In Bolivia, the dictatorship faces a trade union and people's movement that has not ceased stepping up its action and is forced to respect the universal suffrage it had thwarted.

As one can see, things are not so easy for Reagan, even in countries he considers to be his own "private reserve."

Within the very General Assembly of the International Monetary Fund, the United States has just seen its policy of austerity and restrictions for the poorest countries strongly criticized and contested, not only by numerous developing countries, but by certain capitalist countries as well.

More and more, the American policy is running up against the national interests of its own Western partners and the divergencies on certain political aspects are manifest.

This is true of the continuation, despite promises, of the high American interest rates and the attacks on the franc.

It is true of the obvious opposition between our government's support of the peoples' struggles in Central America and the "big stick" policy of the American Government in the region.

Finally, there was quite recently the question of the Siberian gas pipeline, concerning which France had to firmly oppose the inadmissible American injunctions.

Concerning this problem, opposition emerged with Italy and the FRG, whose governments refused to yield to American "orders" on the matter.

New contradictions are arising throughout the world dealing with the most effective means and methods to be used to preserve the domination of big capital, between those who want to settle problems by negotiation and those who see only the use of force in order to impose their policies.

As one can see, one has to beware of any set thinking in analyzing the evolution in the situation. Its complexity, its uneven, nonlinear nature, should not surprise us.

Just as we are part and parcel of a rugged class struggle in France, on the international level, we have a period of the sharpening of the planetary confrontation between the forces of the past and all the great revolutionary, progressive, emancipating trends.

That is the underlying meaning of what is now seen by everyone as a worsening of international tension.

#### Ratio of Forces

We said at the 24th Congress that "the simultaneous, even convergent, action of these very diverse currents has modified the ratio of forces to the point that imperialism can no longer act as it wishes."

Nothing changes this view. The ratio of forces in the world has not basically changed. We were right to say at our congress that:

The changes occurring in the world give struggling nations not only new possibilities of warding off war, but of moving toward socialism, following the original path suited to them."

But the recent international events have just emphasized the full meaning of what we had also said, and I quote once again:

"But in order to make these possibilities a reality, it is necessary to step up class struggles against imperialist aims, for the defense and consolidation of peace, peaceful coexistence, and solidarity with peoples fighting for progress and democracy."

This second aspect now takes on particular acuity.

Moreover, everything shows that the forces exist to wage this fight on the necessary level and that they can grow even stronger.

The influence exercised by the socialist countries is decisive. Through their weight and influence on the economic, political and military levels, they prevent the warmongers from resorting to nuclear ventures.

Their action in international organizations, their proposals and their acts in favor of detente and disarmament are influential in maintaining coexistence and peace. They are a point of support for emancipating struggles throughout the world.

Dozens and dozens of nations have freed themselves from colonialism. They have won the means of their development and are seeking to build a new society of justice and freedom, in a great diversity of forms.

Others are still continuing that liberating fight today.

Important social and political struggles are developing in the capitalist countries.

One sees parties with different orientations, movements, trade unions and many other organizations coming out in favor of the great human causes.

Hundreds of millions of men and women are acting on behalf of their ideals, their beliefs, often diverse, for a world of peace and progress.

A strong will is expressing itself on behalf of the right of every people to live freely, independently and as a sovereign nation, to choose its own destiny.

#### Rallying All Forces

In the face of the aggressiveness of the United States, we state frankly that it is necessary and urgent for the considerable forces throughout the world working for peace, justice, freedom and the welfare of man to rally together and raise the level of their action to that of the requirements stemming from the acuity of the class struggle today.

The same is true in every country.



They can and must act to halt the adventurist and dangerous policy of American imperialism and its regional policemen.

They can and must rally to forcefully express their solidarity with all peoples and all nations acting for their national, social and human liberation.

They can and must act to impose peaceful, negotiated solutions, with security for all, on regions now bloodied by war.

We want discussions and negotiations to be held in all possible places, but one must always bear in mind that the result of any negotiation depends above all on the intervention of peoples.

That is why it is necessary and urgent to act so that the United Nations will be placed in a situation to play an effective role, in the service of respect for international law, the sovereignty of nations and peace.

In this connection, a study of measures permitting greater effectiveness in decisionmaking and implementation is essential. The forces exist to do so: they can act in that direction.

#### New Order

They can and must act so that concrete progress will be made in establishing a new international economic and political order. It is an urgent matter.

The 520 billion in debts of the developing countries are actually but one aspect of the increased difficulties facing the peoples of those countries. under the pressure of multinational capital.

The prices of raw materials, which many of them export, are stagnant or declining. Per capita income from food production has dropped 1.1 percent every year for 10 years.

The effects of underdevelopment: hunger, malnutrition, disease and illiteracy, and of colonial and neocolonial exploitation persist and are even spreading.

These are the results, not of some fate in the face of which we are powerless, but of a systematic policy of looting and exploitation for the greater profit of a few big multinational companies.

We are convinced that it is necessary and possible for peoples to act to put an end to this plague which hunger still constitutes in the world, to reform international monetary and financial relations, to resume overall negotiations within the framework of the United Nations.

Such objectives not only respond to the pressing needs of peoples in developing countries, but they are also in keeping with the interests of peoples like ours who are working to emerge from the crisis raging in the capitalist countries.

We have a common interest in this fight. That is why we are acting to develop great international cooperation on the basis of mutual interest. For France, it requires a new balance in our trade, which must develop further on these bases with developing countries and with the socialist nations.

It is essential to rally in action all forces -- and they are many -- that speak out in favor of peace and disarmament.

#### Movement for Peace and Disarmament

In recent months, the great people's movement for peace and disarmament has gained strength in the world.

Everyone will remember the huge rally in New York in June, those in Bonn, Tokyo and, naturally, the peace march of 250,000 persons in Paris on 20 June.

But one must also emphasize that far from dwindling during the summer, the movement for peace and disarmament gained new strength in many forms.

In July and August, meetings, rallies and multifaceted action took place in Belgium, Italy, the USSR, Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Japan, the Scandinavian countries and the United States. In September, others took place in the FRG with 200,000 persons. The liberal International majority asked for an immediate quantitative and qualitative freeze on all types of nuclear arms, and a few days ago, the Labor Party Congress in Great Britain came out clearly for disarmament.

New action is announced for the World Disarmament Week in October.

It is definitely not exaggerated to say that we are involved here in a movement absolutely unprecedented in scope.

Unprecedented by virtue of the number of those participating; unprecedented by virtue of the diversity of political, social and religious reasons pushing them to act; unprecedented by virtue of the diversity of forms emerging from the imagination of all the men, women and young people engaged in a struggle, not only against the dangers, but for disarmament and all it makes possible for the well-being of man.

This vast movement is based on and promotes the positions and action of governments.

The idea of a real common front against nuclear war and for disarmament thus gains strength and relevance.

Since our 24th Congress, Reagan's decisions have only confirmed our evaluation of the American objective of regaining military supremacy. The doctrine of "limited war" has even been further exaggerated because Washington now formulates the proposal to wage a "victorious" 6-month nuclear war in Europe!

Despite the opening of Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva, negotiations that are already an initial result of the action of the people, the American leaders still intend to set up the Pershing II and cruise missiles in 1983.

This shows to what extent our people are concerned by the great deadline of 1983. We remain convinced that it is possible to make Reagan back down from his proposals, on the condition that the disarmament movement be intensified.

The most recent period was the occasion for important initiatives such as that of the USSR on unilateral renunciation of being the first to use nuclear weapons and on the unilateral moratorium on medium-range weapons, and that of the nonaligned countries and nations such as India or Sweden.

The meeting of the 35 countries that are signatories of the final Helsinki Accord, which resumes in Madrid on 9 November, could lead, if public opinion is strong enough, to the calling of a European disarmament conference, which we would like to see held soon in Paris.

Yes, solutions do exist and we should seize upon all positive proposals, whatever their source, in order to move toward a gradual and balanced reduction in arms, guaranteeing the security of each country and collective security, and toward the simultaneous dissolution of military blocs.

One cannot allow governments to be the only ones to handle this vital question. Peoples, our people also, must make it their own cause. That is what has begun, but we must do more, much more.

#### Priority

It was with particular emphasis that the 24th Congress established the fight for peace as a priority of our action.

One can say that its appeal was heard. Alongside other French men and women and in particular, the Peace Movement, the communists have helped, in past months, ensure that the fight for peace in our country would achieve a higher level.

Confronted with the threats and in the face of the absurdity of the escalation of the arms race, there has grown in our country the determination that France and its people should fully join the great movement developing in Europe.

This explains the impressive response which the Appeal of the 100 has had.

If such strong unity has been possible among such diverse people, it is because it is based on ideas which, beyond individual judgments and choices, they would:

Put an end to the armaments race; negotiate in the East and the West to reduce all of them; to spend on the fight for life and against poverty and hunger what is squandered on death.

That is what the Appeal of the 100 stated and that is what was reaffirmed by the appeal adopted on 20 June, at the close of an original, colorful, confident demonstration, the largest our country has seen of its type.

On the basis of the appeal adopted on 20 June, the organizers decided to pursue the task undertaken.

At their recent meeting, they asked signatories and all those wishing to do so to meet at the departmental and local levels to decide upon actions to be taken and, in the immediate future, at the world UN week from 24 to 31 October.

The early responses show that that week will be marked in our country by many decentralized actions.

Speaking more generally, the 100, who wish to go beyond that framework and open the way to all persons of good will, have decided to provide themselves with the means for what they consider to be necessary long-range action.

We hail this move and insofar as it depends on us, we intend to help increase the number of ways of rallying the most diverse forces for peace and disarmament.

In the most recent period, different documents have been published on these matters by broad political and democratic forces, trade unions, churches and various other movements in our country.

We observe that while we naturally do not have the same views on the causes and persons responsible for the situation, everyone is for gradual, balanced disarmament that is supervised for the collective security. They condemn the arms race and are for negotiations leading to a reduction in arms. They make the connection between disarmament and development.

These are all principles that we have never ceased to defend.

Important elements of convergence also appear with respect to more precise measures. Possibilities therefore exist for broadening even further the action for disarmament. As far as we are concerned, we shall do everything in our power to achieve it.

It is in such a spirit that we look toward discussions with the Socialist Party, which has accepted our proposal to meet.

Along with the development of this movement in all countries, no one thinks about isolating himself. On the contrary, there is a strong aspiration to unite energies, have exchanges, meet and engage in a dialogue bringing new forms of international cooperation among peaceful forces.

Yes, time is of the essence. We must unite and act on a national level, unite and act internationally on behalf of peace and disarmament. Possibilities exist. They must be fully used.



## New Internationalism

Dear comrades:

These are the reflections leading us to formulate the recent international events.

I wish to state clearly that our party will spare no effort, insofar as it is concerned, to develop its activity in the direction of the needs I have expressed.

We do in fact believe that at the present time, the Communist parties have a special responsibility. Beyond our diversities, our differences of opinion and our divergencies, we must play our full role in the front line of the fighting for the great objectives we share.

In that sense, our party is ready for the most diverse forms of cooperation with Communist parties, in the spirit of the new relationships that we wish to promote and that have made progress in the most recent period. Cooperation and action on precise objectives, within the framework of the current struggle to attain the goals I have set forth: That is what we now deem necessary.

Everyone knows full well that we French communists are acting to build a new and profoundly original society, one in keeping with the needs, wants and aspirations of our people. That is what we call French-type socialism. And we are deeply attached to the original nature of our strategy, our total independence.

But we do not oppose this national fight against our duties of internationalist solidarity and we believe that all Communist parties should also meet their double responsibility.

It is in the interest of each people and all peoples.

But as I have said, the forces ready for the struggle are now many in the world. Helping to unite them for action: This is the meaning of the new internationalism that we wish to promote.

We intend to act with all revolutionary and progressive parties and movements in Africa, Asia or Latin America that are fighting for the political, social and economic emancipation of their country.

We are willing to act with Socialist and Social Democratic parties, particularly in Europe, in order to save our continent from the nuclear threat.

We are willing to act with all believers, with all young people, all those who have a desire to put above everything else the same strong demand that can unite them: seeking peace and the security of nations amidst a balanced and negotiated reduction in arms.

We are firmly determined to assume all our national and international responsibilities.

Yes, the French Communist Party is determined to help develop action and rally all those in France and throughout the world who are attached to solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and to the search for a just and lasting peace in the Near East.

It is determined to help rally all those in France and throughout the world who care about the right of every sovereign and independent people to have original, autonomous development, in keeping with its needs and tastes.

It is determined to help unite in action all those anxious to work for peace and disarmament.

11,464

CSO: 3519/139

## FORTHCOMING MINISTERIAL DISMISSALS, APPOINTMENTS PREDICTED

Athens I VRADYNI in Greek 29 Nov 82 p 4

/Excerpts/ An assessment on the replacement of ministers and deputy ministers, public organization directors and nomarchs who are considered as having failed in their task begins the day after tomorrow, Wednesday, 1 December.

The new "reshuffle," at any case, will not --according to reliable information-- be like the last one of 5 June, but will come about gradually so that its political cost can be limited as much as possible.

## Who Is Replacing Whom

Among the ministers and deputy ministers who, according to reliable information, will very shortly be replaced are the following:

- Minister of Urban Planning and Environment Tritsis because of the blatant failure of the measures he had implemented to decrease pollution in Athens.

His replacement is said to be Vas. Kedikoglou (Evvoia), a civil engineer who appears to have the political support of Mr Io. Alevras, president of parliament, Minister of Interior Gennimatas and the all-powerful engineers "branch."

- Minister of Commerce G. Moraitis who is being criticized for having completely failed to control prices on the one hand and for having turned many businessmen, industrialists and professionals against the government through his planned changes in the various chambers /of commerce, etc./

His most prominent replacement is said to be Mr Emm. Drettakis (Irakleion), without at the same time excluding Deputy Minister of Agriculture Evst. Giotas (Remainder of Attiki) who also has the support of Mr Gennimatas.

In case Mr Giotas is chosen, his position as deputy minister of agriculture will be assumed, again according to the same information, by Mr Seraf. Anastasakos (Karditsa).

- Minister of Northern Greece Vas. Intzes whose stance against Mr Papatsoris, Salonica police chief, has outraged the Movement's leadership.

His replacement is said to be Mr Io. Papadopoulos (Evros).

- Minister of Commerce N. Akritidis who is being charged with not being able to face up to the great traffic problems and has angered the inhabitants of the Attiki basin area.

- Also under consideration for replacement are said to be Minister of Health P. Avgerinos, as well as Deputy Minister of Communications S. Valyrakis and Deputy Minister of Social Welfare R. Kaklamanaki.

A sure candidate for the position of Mr Avgerinos or Mrs Kaklamanaki is said to be Mr Dim. Sapoundzis (Evvoia), a doctor and secretary of PASOK's parliamentary work sections, who is said to have the support of the leadership circles because of the work he has done in his area of responsibility. At any rate, it is characteristic that Mr Sapoundzis, who was considered by all political observers as a moderate, has recently converted into an extreme intransigent. He is also being charged by his colleagues as having agreed to play the game of the Movement's leadership on the issue of the candidate preferential "cross," when, during the famous meeting of the parliamentary group, he appeared as a representative of all the deputies and told President Papandreou that all agreed on the abolition of the preference cross. Mr Sapoundzis did this without having the authorization of any deputy!

Other cadres being considered for the position of minister or deputy minister are said to be Mrs Sylva Akrita (Second District of Athens) who is said to have reestablished relations with Mr Papandreou. Also, Mr Sakis Peponis, Mr Athan. Diimitrakopoulos (Aitolokarnania) and Mr Athan. Batsos (Fthiotis).

- Also being considered for replacement is Minister of Finance Koulourianos who is being criticized for not being able to successfully coordinate the various sectors of the budget. It is, moreover, a common secret that the relations between Messrs Arsenis and Koulourianos are not ideal.

- Among those PASOK cadres said to be under consideration for a ministerial or deputy ministerial position is Mr Kosta Nikolaou (a Euro-deputy) who, as vice president of the European Parliament, has impressed foreigners over his broad knowledge as well as his managerial abilities and the way in which he handles issues under his jurisdiction.

An incident that took place recently in the European Parliament's halls with a PASOK Euro-deputy whom Mr Nikolaou criticized for anti-party conduct has raised Mr Nikolaou in the estimation of PASOK's "hard-liners" (although he himself is still considered basically as a moderate).

5671

CSO: 3521/100



## BLANDNESS, POLITICS WITHIN KKE 'POSITIONS' ANALYZED

Athens ANDI in Greek No 219, 26 Nov 82 pp 30-31

/Article by Sp. Drepanos: "KKE --Congress Without Surprises"/

/Text/ The KKE is moving inexorably forward toward its congress which this time has surpassed every previous one in the party's history in both routine and standard. Indeed, from what is apparent, this more general party apathy over the congress is not the result of the behavior of the leadership but the natural consequences of the overall disposition of the party's "time."

Thus, the "festival" of the first days of last autumn was followed up by the municipal election "battle," "the battle of the placards" over the polytechnic school was then waged, the financial drive for the congress was added, slogan plastering for the congress began and is continuing, to an extent that the KOV /Base Party Organization/ meetings are overengaged in indispensable party activism, while the vast in scope party "positions" have not even been read by most of the party members.

Besides, the complicated formulations of the "positions" transform each discussion into a competence of "specialists." However, the "specialists" are none other than those leadership cadres who know very well the points and meanings of the "positions" so that, even though they still wage battles, it is a question of palace-type clashes for claiming a segment of the intra-party authority.

Who, for example, will pay attention to the subtle but decisive rejection of political cooperation of the Balkan countries in the "positions?" Anyone who runs through the relevant point will note the following:

"A constituent element in the fight for peace is the promotion of the demand for the immediate withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the Balkan area, the development of many-sided economic, scientific and technical cooperation of the Balkan states that promotes detente and peaceful cooperation in the region. The KKE calls on the government not to limit itself to mere proclamations over this issue but to move ahead and take steps to solve it." ("Positions," page 9).

The absence of the word "political cooperation" is, of course, not at all fortuitous. It is known that the Soviet Union, through Bulgaria, is strongly opposed to the political cooperation of the Balkan countries because it considers it as the beginning of the weakening of the cohesiveness of the southern wing of the Warsaw Pact. The case of "questionable" Romania already exists, while Hungary has asked to participate in the Balkans athletic games, which is the first step for its indirect recognition as a Balkan power. Therefore, political cooperation is judged as dangerous and is rejected by the Warsaw Pact. It is, however, valuable for Greece and our basic national interests, while it would contribute, if it were to be achieved, to the stabilization of detente in the area and to the beginning --according to Papandreou's concept-- of an emancipation of the Balkan countries from the superpowers that keep them underfoot.

Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of the party members do not, of course, pay attention to such "details." Those few who do and who understand stay silent because it is part of the "game" or else they do not consider such matters as "the main front." Thus, the level of the pre-congress dialogue is unacceptably low, at least from what appears to have occurred up to now.

There has been very little in-depth discussion on basic issues, that is issues that deal with problems of strategic and party aspect. Most of the discussions are distinguished by the now conventional and cliché-ridden party language of "positive criticism."

"Positive criticism" consists in the agreement in principle --and without discussion-- that the party is going along well and that it has solved its basic problems "but"....This "but," that either is an issue of party education or an issue of relations within the KOV's, or an issue of responsibilities on the part of the leadership, or an issue of erroneous policy in entire fields of work, is many times strongly registered and without "beating around the bush." However, the common characteristic of all these discussions is the absence of building criticism on a completely different form of logic.

In other words, there exists the conventional characteristic of "permissible disagreement," and, in fact, the desirability and encouragement of such. This is so because we all know that the leadership becomes enthusiastic whenever they criticize those who admit of "improvement" and firmly beat down whatever ensures its reproduction.

Within this atmosphere, some discussions that touch on the issue of intra-party democracy and that reveal a different concept of the party are rarely heard and are always "lost" under the mass of "positive" proposals about what color the "borders" of the articles of RIZOSPASTIS should have, etc.

In any case, it appears that the congress is taking place in a kind of ideological and political state of confusion. The confusion in principle is over the exact relations of the stage of the "democracy of the people" that the 10th congress discovered and the stage of "true change" that the 11th congress is studying. If, indeed, the thorny question of the relation of the "democracy

of the people" with socialism is posed, then the problems are increased and are dangerously aggravated for the logical structuring of the "positions."

The second problem --more specific-- concerns the tactics toward PASOK, a choice which, of course, is linked with the previous ones. It is also the only point where two "tendencies" have appeared that evidently also echo a "disagreement at the summit." On the one hand, the view that wants a going along with PASOK, the exercise of a positive unifying policy toward it, the maintenance of the possibility of an alliance with, even participation in the government under certain terms, etc. This view recognizes that the KKE must positively make known its "autonomous" face without clashing with PASOK "all along the substance." The principal bearer of this view appears to be Mr Florakis.

The other side now, whose principal proponent is said to be Mr Tsolakis, expresses an original party patriotism with its chief characteristic being the demand for an all-sided break with PASOK which is a "bourgeois proponent" and an "objective" proponent of the interests of big capital and imperialism. It is being said that this view has reservations over the use of the term "true change" because "it creates confusion" and "favors PASOK." The desire of this wing is for the KKE to wage battles under the banner of "socialism and communism," "those things that inspire the Greek communist movement" and not to have the KKE contribute to the "muddiness" of the multi-named "changes."

The most probable, of course, is that the congress will move toward the "golden mean" of the center because the otherwise predominance of the second view would on the one hand bring about indirectly --but clearly-- the issue of leadership, and on the other hand would make difficult the maneuvers of the KKE that would automatically be converted into a vast leftist organization. Besides, it is not by chance that any texts that contribute toward this direction strongly bring to mind the language of small Marxist-Leninist groupings that have now been dissolved but seem to have been reborn in the minds of certain KKE cadres. Moreover, the unusual thing is that the line "of breaking" with PASOK is being expressed by the most unadulterated pro-Soviet wing (Mr Tsolakis) at the very moment when, following Papandreou's visit to Moscow and /Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers/ Tikhonov's forthcoming visit to Athens, an improvement is being anticipated in Greek-Soviet relations.

But, of course, all of these matters are outside of the pre-congress dialogues and the daily problems of the party. At any rate, perhaps in order to prompt some greater participation, the political bureau has set up the "Pre-Congress Discussions Center" (at the corner of Panepistimiou and Themistokleous Streets) where, according to RIZOSPASTIS, "the people will become informed about the 'positions,' discuss things with comrades, express views, thoughts and proposals."

Nevertheless, this concerns an unusual and original practice that converts the pre-congress discussion into a kind of generalized public relations of the party with the people, when, of course, no one can seriously maintain that all of this is linked with any of the well-known methods of communicating with the "masses."

It is in this kind of atmosphere, therefore, that the final steps toward the congress are being made. Various dissenters both within and outside the party once again see party life determined by the "forces of apathy" of party normality and not by the forces of action of the vanguard sectors of the working class and its allies.

The selection of the representatives will be made by designation, decisions will be taken with mutual compromises at the summit, compromises will be expressed also in the share of positions and influence in the guiding organs. Some will withdraw and will be proclaimed "veterans" and some new ones will replace them, thus bringing the "renovation" of the party into fruition.

The party, however, will remain the same. Some consider this as a decisive advantage for it. However, it could also be its primary --and mortal-- shortcoming....

5671

CSO: 3521/100



## HERMANNSSON ADDRESSES ANGRY PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONGRESS

## Hermannsson Defends Coalition Role

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 16 Nov 82 p 48

[Text] The Eighteenth Party Congress of the Progressive Party, which began on Saturday, ended at 8:00 last night. Of the 700 persons listed as attending, 451 cast their votes for the steering committee. At the close of the congress, a three fold political agenda was agreed upon. One of the sections involved agenda concerning the party platform. Steingrímur Hermannsson's speech on the drawing up of the agenda said that "fortunately, the agenda was open at both ends." Strong criticism was expressed at the congress against the government and the party ministers, and particularly harsh criticism came out against the party newspaper TIMINN. Its editor, Þorarin Þorarinsson, announced Sunday evening that he would resign if that criticism was supposed to be directed at his editorial writing.

In the drafts for the agenda concerning TIMINN, particular criticism came up against the newspaper's political publications. After Þorarinsson's announcement, the leaders of the party came up to the podium one after the other to say that Þorarinsson was the best editor in the country and that the criticism was aimed at other sections of the paper. Various suggestions for change were brought up and these were in turn referred to the working committee. Later, yesterday morning, agenda were agreed upon in which the congress explained its satisfaction with the editorial columns of TIMINN but said that it considered it necessary to involve the paper more in the political campaign.

In the discussions at the congress about the general political agenda, it was particularly pointed out that the agenda was not at all decisive and clear enough when it came to party politics. Eysteinn Jónsson stood up after the reading of the political agenda and said, among other things, that congress delegates did not need to worry about the political agenda. It was not relevant to go into detail at this stage. "We will put the details into it later," he said.

Most of the proposals for change which came up relative to the political agenda were voted down. One of these was an amendment to the article on the balance of trade, which read as follows: "The exchange rate of the krona should be calculated according to actual value." This proposal was defeated at a ratio of 53 votes against 28. People then said that, according to this, the congress presumably wanted the exchange rate to be calculated incorrectly.

In the political agenda it says the following about electoral precinct divisions and the electoral system: "The weight of votes should be as close as possible to how it was just after the present precinct divisions were drawn up. This should preferably be done under new rules for the distribution of additional parliamentary seats, rather than with an increase in the number of MP's." A proposal came up on this subject suggesting adherence to a clear party line and elimination of all nuclear elements. The man who presented this proposal, Sigurgeir Boasson, said when he announced the change proposal that the Progressive Party had by itself been the cause of the rumor which said that it was open at both ends. Steingrímur Hermannsson said that the Progressive Party could not be nailed down in this matter and that it was fortuitous that the agenda was open at both ends. If the party congress were to delineate a definite policy for the party, the agenda could be put in the mail as early as tomorrow and there would be no other opportunity to discuss with the other parties a satisfactory solution for the precinct problem. Boasson's proposal was defeated.

After the agenda for diplomatic and security matters were read, many divided opinions were expressed by the delegates to the congress. Various change proposals were submitted, but Ólafur Jóhannesson, foreign minister, asked for the floor, requesting the delegates to agree to the agenda drafts without changes, since it was a very sensitive matter and it had taken an immense amount of time to draw up an agenda which everyone on the preparation committee was pleased with. Nearly all change proposals were voted down, including one from Tómas Arnason concerning a change in the wording of the section on foreign trade.

Hermannsson said in his closing speech at the end of the congress that the uncertainty in national matters was growing daily. He said that it was clear that elections were just around the corner, and despite the fact that he had said that it would not be auspicious to have elections in January or February, party members should not hesitate to go to the polls whenever elections should come up. He concluded by urging everyone to begin the electoral campaign in their home districts, and not to delay.

#### Party Policies Attacked by Members

Reykjavík MORGUNBLAÐID in Icelandic 16 Nov 82 p 30

[Text] The government and the current economic situation were subjected to harsh criticism at the Eighteenth Congress of the Progressive Party over the weekend. Speakers talked of broken promises and asked what the ministers of the Progressive Party had been doing in the government;

they said that recent actions by the government indicated that everything was heading for a fall. A policy of compromise was aimed for. The demands of the Progressives for importation limits were apparent in some of the speeches. "The old limitation policy could be right," said one of the speakers in the discussions."

Helgi H Jonsson, an alternative representative in the Reykjanes District, was the first to begin discussion about the poor condition the government was in, but many delegates received Jonsson's speech well and thanked him for having the courage to speak his opinion. Eiríkur Tomasson was one of those who agreed with Jonsson, and he said, among other things, that Progressive Party members could not ignore the situation. They had pledged to promote compromise, but had fallen short in achieving it. Harsh criticism against the government also was expressed in a speech by the foreign minister, Olafur Johannesson, which is printed elsewhere in today's MORGUNBLADID.

The party leaders did not provide many answers to these questions, but Steingrímur Hermannsson, party chairman, said, at the conclusion of general discussions on Sunday, that healthy criticism was a good thing. Relative to the discussions about the economic situation, the party chairman said that it was his opinion that economic actions ought to be enacted, of the kind that the government is fighting now, for a term of at least 1 year. Then he said that he had found it noteworthy that demands for import limitations had been a common motif in many of the speeches. "We will not stand for it any longer," he said, and expressed his opinion that various controls ought to be applied, although not by turning back to the old limitations.

#### Party Newspaper in Financial Difficulty

Reykjavík MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 16 Nov 82 p 30

[Excerpts] "If this criticism is directed against my editorial columns, then I will resign," said Thorarinn Thorarinnsson, editor of TIMINN, in a speech at the Eighteenth Party Congress of the Progressive Party on Sunday. In the statement of the party's working committee which dealt with TIMINN, it says (among other things): "The political coverage in the newspaper has been criticized sufficiently by party members. For this reason, the congress would like to point out to the editors of the paper that the management of political coverage in the paper should be reviewed." There was much harsh criticism at the congress concerning TIMINN, both in open discussion and in the working committee, and many said that they were most dissatisfied with the paper as a political organ. It also came out that TIMINN cannot continue in its present format unless it attracts a much larger following of subscribers, or unless its financial situation suddenly improves.

There was a special campaign at the congress in that each delegate was urged to be responsible in helping drum up 3,000 new subscribers for TIMINN. Kristinn Finnbogason, former general secretary for TIMINN, said that TIMINN's loss during the past year had come to 1.8 million kronur and that an even greater loss was probable this year. Then he said that people ought to consider the fix that TIMINN was in and stated that TIMINN's subscription campaign, based on a lottery for subscribers, had brought in less than 200 new subscribers. Finnbogason said that there was little hope, therefore, that it would be possible to drum up 3,000 new subscribers for TIMINN.

#### Foreign Minister Johannesson Defends Stands

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 16 Nov 82 p 30

[Excerpts] "I believe that the Progressive Party ought to be loyal to its middle-of-the-road nature. As a middle-of-the-road party it has a role to play in our society. On the other hand, I don't think that it is particularly desirable to set up the party as a third party over on the left wing. I think that then people would start to think that it would be just as good to vote for one of the other leftist parties if the alternatives were set up that way. I am convinced that we ought to remain moderate and stick to our middle-of-the road nature," said Foreign Minister Olafur Johannesson in his speech to the Eighteenth Party Congress of the Progressive Party on Sunday. Johannesson's speech was very well received by the delegates.

Johannesson strongly criticized the government, saying that it had failed in its attempts to bring down inflation and did not shoulder the responsibilities resulting from that. He said that "too little, too late" were unfortunately the words which had come to best describe this government. Then he said that anyone who had had great hopes for results from this government had been disappointed. However, this had not been the case with him, since he had never expected any results out of this government.

Johannesson spoke to some extent about foreign affairs and said that the party's main diplomatic affairs policy was unchanged, that there was no reason to change it at all.

#### Paper Comments on Congress

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 17 Nov 82 p 24

[Editorial]

[Text] Dissatisfaction at the Progressive Party Congress

"I have held a special position in this government, to be sure, and I suppose that people understand now that I find I have no particular reason to praise and acclaim what his government has done. And I cannot praise it. People say



that the People's Alliance has had too much power. That subject could be debated at length, and conclusions are difficult to draw, but so much is clear--it has not been the policy of the Progressive Party, the compromise policy which has been our slogan in the last elections, which has been the policy followed by this government. That much is obvious. Their actions betray them" said Olafur Johannesson, current foreign minister, former prime minister and chairman of the Progressive Party, at the Progressive Party congress which was held last weekend. It would seem to show an unusual patience, or perhaps political insensitivity, that the powerful men of the Progressive Party should think it best for themselves and their party to continue to participate in this People's Alliance government, which has been described in such bad terms as these by one of the captains of the ship of state.

On the first day of the Progressive Party congress one of the delegates, Helgi H Jonsson, a radio news commentator, presented a proposal suggesting that his colleagues the newspaper reporters should be shown out of the meeting. Jonsson said that he couldn't say what he wanted to about the government if the reporters were listening! Helgi H Jonsson's proposal goes against all modern-day conceptions of political procedure; but the Progressive congress did turn it down and force it off the agenda. This act indicates that the leadership of the congress understood that it would cost them some loss in popularity if this proposal by a National Radio newscaster, asking for a news ban, were approved; but still the feeling was in the air that that delegate had wanted to be able to lick the party's wounds in peace. The whole congress tended in this direction, that it seemed that the party leadership--both in the Althing, in the party organizations, and in the newspaper, TIMINN--was working on hiding its mistakes. And it was clear to see that Steingrímur Hermannsson, Progressive Party chairman, had no answer to that criticism when he appeared on television at the close of the conference.

In the abovementioned speech to the Progressive Party congress Olafur Johannesson said the following, among other things: "Policy platforms are necessary and wonderful things; but when they are drawn up, people do not only read them, but also weigh and measure achievements and activities relative to them." With these words the former chairman of the Progressive Party reduces the current Progressive chairman's grand words about a possible victory over inflation to nothing. It might be said, considering the clumsy progress of the compromise program, and the inability of the Progressives to confidently support this government, that no one believes what Steingrímur Hermannsson says any more--not even his predecessor in the party chairman's seat.

#### Divided Leadership

It is clear that there is a profound division among the leaders of the Progressive Party. Steingrímur Hermannsson, the chairman, and Halldor Asgrímsson, deputy chairman, argue about the interest policy. Steingrímur Hermannsson and Olafur Johannesson argue about the air terminal issue. Olafur Johannesson and Halldor Asgrímsson are at crossed swords concerning the question of the voting imbalance--Johannesson wants to negotiate, while Asgrímsson wants to cease negotiations with the other parties. Olafur Joahhnesson says that this government is a failure, whereas Steingrímur Hermannsson has characterized it by saying, "Anything is better than conservatism."

The radio newscaster who was a congress delegate would doubtless have liked to see nothing come out in the mass media about the congress except what was said in the government-owned mass media at the beginning of the Progressive Party congress--that there was more unanimity in that party than in the other ones. The Progressives have been busy spreading this image of themselves--but their congress proves that the image is false. Disagreements on the issues are rife within the Progressive Party and the time is not far off when they will result in personal attacks.

9584

CSO: 3626/14

## WOERNER'S HANDLING OF BUNDESWEHR FINANCIAL CRISIS CRITICIZED

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 19 Nov 82 p 7

/Article by Wolfgang Hoffmann: "A Weak Team for the Next Crisis. Minister Woerner is Poorly Armed for Controlling Defense Spending"/

/Text/ New Defense Minister Manfred Woerner handled his first official assignment almost blindly--giving thought only to the premature Bundestag election on 6 March next. Woerner abolished 866 poorly paid private first class positions and added the amount saved to the better paid ranks in the Bundeswehr. In future there will be 866 more sergeants first class, master sergeants, majors, captains and first lieutenants. The new defense minister may rely on applause from the armed forces. Even those who are not being promoted now may consider this push a hopeful signal: From now on times will be better.

Though the messes may praise the new supreme commander of the armed forces, his success will not last if, ultimately, everything remains the same. And that is fairly certain already. Many even fear that in some respects the management on the Hardthoehe will be worse than before: Whenever billions are involved. In future Parliamentary State Secretary Kurt Jung is to have full responsibility for arms and their supervision. The former defense spokesman of the FDP fraction is an officer of the reserve and architect by profession. In former years--from 1972-1976--Jung was parliamentary state secretary in various ministries. He left a lasting impression neither in the Ministry of Interior nor in the Ministry for Posts and Transportation. Is he the right man--urgently needed at this point--to handle the costly procurement, to get a grip on programs and their costs?

The change on the Hardthoehe cannot disguise the fact that the Bundeswehr is caught in a financial bind. The armed forces ordered weapons and devices to a value of DM65 billion. Only DM28 billion have been paid for so far. And new burdens are already visible on the horizon.

For public consumption the Americans have promised the Kohl Government to spare it new and additional political and financial requests at least until the March elections. After those elections, though, their forbearance will end. Experts estimate the new requests for the coming 4-5 years to amount to certainly no less than DM10 billion. The Allies' list includes: Shift of the American units stationed in Germany further to the front so as to improve the conventional strength there; the build-up of additional reservists units; reinforcement of the navy and the strict

observance of the NATO formula, according to which the defense budget is to rise each year by a real 3 percent.

Given the financial bottlenecks already offering obstacles to the payment of equipment decided upon and ordered, the minister--himself a competent man--was expected to make competent appointments, possibly after consultation of industrial experts. Jung's appointment was therefore all the more surprising, and so was that of Karl Helmut Schnell, the new main department manager for armament. Following Jung into office was an official appointed to the crucial arms procurement control board, who has no experience whatever in the field and, in addition, as chairman of the CDU oriented personnel council, opposed the concept of Woerner's predecessor Apel who had intended to remove serious management defects on the Hardthoehe: A central system of procurement and financial management to be integrated with the senior team at the ministry.

In 1981 Hans Apel nearly lost his job as a consequence of a billion cost overrun on the Tornado multipurpose tactical aircraft. Subsequently he had industrial consultant Manfred Emcke and the firm McKinsey draw up a concept for improving cost intelligibility and the business efficiency of the Bundeswehr by a proper control system (controlling). The need for such a system did not arise only from the Tornado affair, in the case of which an unexpected cost explosion necessitated substantial financial cuts in other arms projects. Emcke also discovered many discrepancies in the Bundeswehr's procurement methods. These urgently called for a more rational cost control system, especially at a time when money was scarce. To cite some examples: Some spare part stocks were evidently procured to last for 6 years of warfare. On the other hand the Bundeswehr's gasoline reserves will, at best, suffice for 90 days.

The investigation found Bundeswehr vehicles that were not usable even in peacetime because important spare parts had not been delivered. So-called container cabins, to be mounted on trucks, are rusting in Bundeswehr warehouses because the budget department eliminated the additional devices needed for assembly. As a result roughly DM1 billion were lost. Conversely: The Third Corps proved how much profit may be derived from management that is fully cost conscious: Within only 1 year motor fuel consumption was reduced by 12 percent. Controlling made this possible.

Now controlling should not be confused with the German term "control." Instead it means a complete system of planning, directing and supervising production. To put it more simply: One person is responsible for constantly checking the observance of the plan, inquiring why deviations occur, reviewing control methods with a view to checking their efficiency, and constantly proving for possibilities to lower costs. Hans Apel had intended to set up the controlling system as an internal service apparatus. It was meant to inform the top echelons at the ministry whenever decisions had to be taken. Unfortunately, even in his time, the civil servants at the ministry--altogether wrongly--labeled the system as a method of supervision likely to arouse mistrust against everybody.

Manfred Woerner decided to interpret the Anglo-Saxon term "controller" by the German word "Kontrollleur" [auditor]. As he wishes to avoid anything even faintly resembling distrust of the 700,000 Bundeswehr personnel (soldiers and civilians), he vaguely hopes that the large organization he heads will somehow be able to cope with the problems. While the intimates of the new minister suggest that some thought will be given the improvement of the flow of information, "the controller is dead."



Something that has long been the pivot of every modern major business organization is supposed to be superfluous in the Bundeswehr, that giant organization. It is simply that resistance in the military bureaucracy is too strong. The status of the inspector general would be strengthened by a controller, because he would, at all times, have at his disposal an unvarnished description of the state of affairs. At the present time no inspector general is able to obtain this kind of information. That, though, is precisely the item arousing the hostility of the various branches of the armed forces.

Even more regrettable is the fact that Minister Woerner has deprived himself of an opportunity for lowering costs to a substantial extent. The following was the conclusion of the McKinsey report: "According to rough estimates and using comparable figures of major corporations, it should be possible to achieve regular savings on the order of DM1 billion per annum in the medium to long term, in addition to about DM2 billion's worth of non-recurring stock reductions." Manfred Woerner has also incurred an additional hazard. Another financial breakdown is bound to occur, and it will beset the new minister just as the earlier one did his predecessor. The opposition will then taunt Woerner with the words he used to complain about his predecessor in January last: "Any manager running a medium-sized industrial firm on these principles would either be fired or bankrupt the company."

While in opposition Woerner often objected that Bundeswehr spending on ammunition and fringe equipment (telecommunication devices, spare parts, training materiel, and so on) had been cut so much as to weaken the combat readiness of the forces. The Woerner ministry has rescheduled his predecessor's budget appropriations in precisely those sectors, cutting them to the bone. In the case of the (already scarce) ammunition, the cuts amounted to DM50 million. The new wave of promotions initiated by Woerner will cost some DM70 million per annum. This will be at the expense of the conscripts who will have to reckon with a cut in their eventual pensions.

The former government had some rather similar plans. CSU deputy Alfred Biehle termed them an evil contribution designed to destroy the motivation of young people for service in the Bundeswehr. In the 17 September last issue of the CDU's DEUTSCHLAND UNION DIENST Alfred Biehle wrote that he who is going to meet his conscript obligation will be "punished upon retirement, because his pension will be cut by DM11.25 per month (DM135 per annum)." Now Biehle is chairman of the Defense Committee. It will be interesting to see what he will have to say to his minister.

11698

CSO: 3620/116

## NEW ARMY ROLE, DEFENSE IDEAS, SAID TO MAKE POLICY 'UNCLEAR'

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Dec 82 p 12

/Editorial by Thankmar von Muenchhausen: "Mitterand Wants Another Kind of Army"/

/Text/ Nobody would wish to impute to the French Socialists that they might deliberately neglect national defense. On the other hand it is impossible to really assert that they give precedence to defense by comparison with other tasks. The National Assembly debate on the defense budget expressed more than concern about the cuts that tend to affect the defense budget with particular severity. Some apprehension was also noticeable regarding the lack of a clearly defined defense concept.

In an environment dominated by crises and tensions, limited wars and unlimited terrorism, the Socialist Government is taking its sweet time. From its liberal predecessor it inherited an at least 5-year arms program that provides for a steady rise in defense expenditures. The new government extended this program by another year, to 1983, although it had consistently rejected the program when in opposition. It thereby saved money and gained time for reflection. Next year it will have to submit its own program for legislation to range from 1984-1988. This will provide information about its ultimate intentions.

In De Gaulle's time the exclusive security of the French national territory by the nuclear deterrent--the "sanctuarization" and "dissuasion"--amounted to a strategic dogma. In the age of Giscard d'Estaing this concept was broadened by the idea of "advance defense" beyond the national borders--cautiously so as not to arouse the wrath of the Gaullists in the government. What are the inclinations of the Socialists?

The situation is even muddier when we consider that the Communist Party involved in the government has its own ideas and ulterior motives: It agrees to 12 months of conscript service (so as to extend its influence in the armed forces by way of the conscripts) and, at the same time, organizes anti-American "peace demonstrations," innocently suggests France's participation in the nuclear arms negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, rejects the manufacture of a French neutron weapon.

Such expert observers as parachutist General Bigeard, defense state secretary in the 1970's, feel themselves now "to be groping in a fog and profound secrecy" when

attempting to discern the rough outlines of future defense policy. Diverging remarks by responsible personages do not do anything for lifting this fog. Postponed at the same time is the decision on long-term arms programs that would, in any case, not yield any results until the next decade: Not only the disputed tactical neutron weapon, the attack helicopter for antitank defense or the replacement of the two obsolete aircraft carriers also are "up in the air."

On the occasion of his inspection of the Canjuers (Provence) military camp, State President Mitterand stated: Deterrence must be general. It is not possible to separate the actual nuclear weapon and the armed forces without it would be isolated. I mean the deployment of land forces."

Such words might reassure all those who consider credibility of the nuclear deterrent to depend on it not being the only but simply the extreme means of defense. Unfortunately the facts now revealed by the 1983 defense budget are rather different. Economic capacity is setting limits to arms. The political will, too?

While next year's defense budget may still be described as a wait-and-see affair, the 1984 defense budget--the first no longer ruled by the slogan of "continuity" but entirely the responsibility of the Socialists--will represent a break. Affected by "restructuring"--a euphemism for cuts--is primarily the army. Not even the First Army (headquartered in Metz) is to be exempt. Its seven tank divisions provide the main body of men available for defense operations. One of the three tank divisions emplaced in southwest Germany--in Landau--might disappear entirely from the general staff maps. Other units, thought kept alive, are to be "thinned."

In the next few years the army, currently 312,000 strong, will lose 30-35,000 of its manpower, the armed forces generally (total strength 577,000) 45,000 men. The government is quick to hold out the consolation usual in such cases: Quantitative cuts will not imply a loss of quality. Increased fire power is to make good the loss of manpower. However, the equipment of tanks with the most modern guns and the reequipment of the artillery are advancing very slowly. Experts foresee weaker conventional forces.

Alongside the "restructuring," the army is to lose its second most important assignment: The defense of the national territory. This task will be taken over by the gendarmerie. This body is one of the relatively favored corps, in addition to the "force de frappe" /task force/ and the intervention troops. At a strength of 84,000, the gendarmerie is already the most reliable pillar of internal security. The 800 gendarmerie brigades in the regions are to become the nuclei of regional defense. They will handle the mobilization of reservists, the protection of strategic objects and the organization of civilian self-defense groups.

If these plans take shape, the French Socialists will be quite close to their goal of a "people's army": Not the abolition of the army, simply another kind of army. The hidden model is not to be the professional soldier, from the Sun King's grenadiers to the parachutists in camouflage battledress, it is to be the volunteers of 1792, the fighters on the barricades of the Commune, the partisans of the Resistance. I wonder whether--when hankering after this dream of the "people's mobilization"--the Socialists have ever reflected that their communist partners are their superiors by far in the matter of "organizing the masses."

The Socialist Government has inherited an army that got over the conflict of loyalties arising in the Algerian war and the antimilitarism following May 1968. However, these crises have not been forgotten. So far the minor early concessions of the new masters to the party rank-and-file and to young voters--abolition of military justice, reorganization of "military security," abolition of newspaper censorship in the barracks--have not damaged discipline.

More harm may be done by the amendment to the legislation on conscientious objectors, now in the works. At the present time conscientious objectors--300-400 per annum--represent no serious problem. The Socialist Party intends to make conscientious objection easier. The Socialist committee chairman announced: "I will make sure that the defense committee listens to everybody who has something to say: Youth organizations, associations dealing with conscription, the movement for non-violence, civil defense." Up to now Frenchmen have been proud of the good relations between the people and the army. They considered this proof of their determination to preserve national independence. Will France now witness the emergence of a pacifist movement on the FRG model?

The army, the "great silent one," does not publicly show concern. But army officers feel uneasy in this transitional phase. They do not say much but would like to know once and for all how France is to be defended in the coming decades.

11698

CSO: 3260/111



## BRIEFS

FILM COOPERATION WITH USSR--An agreement for collaboration in the cinema Soviet Union signed next Friday by Greece and the Soviet Union within the framework of cultural relations between the two countries, declared the special counsellor for cinema matters of the Ministry of Culture and Sciences Manos Zacharias. The agreement will be signed by the Greek Minister of Culture and Sciences Melina Mercouri and the Soviet Minister of Cinema Philip Yermas. The Ministry of Culture and Sciences has also organised a "Soviet Cinema Week" at the "Alkyonis" from November 22 to 28, and a "Week of Contemporary Soviet Cinema" at the "Embassy film-theatre from November 25 to December 1st. [Text] [Athens ATHENS NEWS in English 21-22 Nov 82 p 4]

CSO: 3500/314

END



**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

28 DEC 82 - 15